1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

769 618 over China. The festival, calculated according to the lunar calendar, usually falls about the beginning of April. The assembly of the clan is concerned with three matters: the veneration of ancestors, a great feast, and an assize at which all topics concerning the clan are open for discussion.

MONGUOR CEMETERIES

764 172 It is plain from the descriptions that have already been given that the burial customs of the Monguors in recent times have been heavily overlaid with Chinese borrowings. There are, however, indications of more ancient customs. People told that in 1906, after very heavy rains, a wall near the village of Hsinyuanp'u on the spur of a mountain in the valley of Shat'ang collapsed and a big vaulted burial chamber was revealed. It had been built with very large bricks. It contained a coffin, which had rotted away, in which there was the skeleton of a man. His clothes had rotted, but the remains of a bow, arrows, and quiver were found. Before the coffin there lay the skeleton of a horse. The saddle had also rotted,

[P. 69-b]

•764 but it could be seen that the materials of the saddle had included copper and iron. As this discovery was made
172 six years before I arrived in the country, I was unable to gather more details from the local people, who were totally uninterested in archaeological discoveries. The bricks of the tomb were said to have been carried away and used by the villagers, and the place could no longer be identified.

We know from numerous archaeological excavations that such tombs were built by the Turkish and Mongol tribes of Inner Asia and Northern Mongolia from ancient down to medieval times. These tombs are related in design to the tombs of the ancient Chou kings in China in the first millennium B.C. They consist essentially of an excavated chamber, its walls shored up either with timber or, in China, with bricks, and a great tumulus heaped up over the grave.[56] In the grave were placed horses and sometimes wives and servants who had been sacrificed to be buried with the deceased. Does the horse-burial tomb in the Monguor country belong to this tradition? This question I cannot answer, as I was unable to inspect the tomb.

At present there exist only two ancestral burial mounds which, according to Monguor tradition, contain such burial chambers. One is that of the Ch'i clan in Nienpei built in the garden of the mansion, in which are buried the more recent ancestors of the Ch'i T'u-ssu, and the other that of the Lu clan in Liench'eng. For other clans, there are conflicting traditions. Some say that in former times a number of clans had similar ancestral mounds, but that they were destroyed by Muslims. This tradition is not supported by such evidence as the ruins of burial places of this kind; on the other hand, in all the oldest cemeteries there is merely a big mound over the grave of the founding ancestor, without burial chambers, and therefore graves with such chambers are not only exceptional but of late construction.

173 As for the valley in which the horse-burial was dis-
172 covered, it is said that it was once inhabited by the Li clan, which is of Shat'o Turkish origin. Near the place where the burial-chamber was found there are still the ruins of an old fortress which is said locally to have been built by the famous Li, Prince of Chin. Although it is quite probable that the Shat'o Turks once occupied this valley, it is certain that the famous Prince Li never lived there. It is possible that his name has been attached in folk tradition to some other once-famous Shat'o chief; but it does not seem likely that this chief, whoever he was, was a direct ancestor of the present clan, because the Li clan holds its assembly in the valley of Hanp'ingshan, five miles south of Hsining (*Annals* of Hsining, ch. 4, p. 3).

764 The Sanch'uan branch of the same clan, south of Nienpei, holds its diet at Hsiangt'ang, at the junction of the Tat'ung and Hsining Rivers. Here stands the most elaborate cemetery in the whole country. It seems to

[56] W. Radloff, *Aus Sibirien* 2: 121, Liepzig, 1893. [p.70a]

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

764 be of later date, and to have been built to glorify the Li clan. Along the approach avenue are two beautiful steles honoring the two most illustrious members of the two branches of the clan, Li Wen of the Hsining branch and Li Yin of the southern branch, though neither of them is actually buried here. They bore respectively the titles of Earl of Kaoyang and Earl of Huining, according to the *Annals* of Hsining, ch. 7, pp. 8, 17. The cemetery, enclosed by a mud wall, stands against the mountain and overlooks the river. Within it a large avenue bordered by stone sheep and tigers in a sad state of decay leads to a big stele on which is engraved the history of the clan, with its claim to descent from Li K'o-yung and the record that its chief, Li Nan-ko, submitted to the Ming and was granted hereditary chieftainship of the clan, later confirmed by the Manchu dynasty. The glorious titles of Li Wen and Li Yin are then recorded once more, together with names of members of the clan who died defending the empire, and finally there is the text of an imperially-granted funereal inscription. The cemetery contains a number of beautiful steles from the Ming and Ch'ing dynasties, the most recent dating from the period of Kuang Hsü (1875–1909). Among those commemorated are Li Nan-ko, Li Wen and Li Yin who are not buried there; except for Li Wen, all those commemorated belong to the southern branch. Many of these steles are said to have been bought and engraved in Peking, and to have been granted by emperors. As the presence of a stele is no guarantee that the deceased is buried there, it is hard to say when the cemetery was actually built.

It should be noted that, under the influence of Lama Buddhism, it has long been the general Monguor custom to cremate the dead, the funeral rites being carried out by lamas; but it is also a general tradition that in ancient times burial was general. T'u-ssu, however, are always buried—the aristocratic tradition being, in this instance, stronger than the religious influence.

During the six or seven centuries that the Monguors have held their present frontier territories, many private cemeteries have been built by both nobles and commoners, separate from the burial places of the founding ancestors, in which there was no more burial space left. The Monguors honor their more recent ancestors at these separate burial places, three days before the spring equinox, which gives them time to attend the annual assembly a few days later.

The cemeteries of the Monguors are laid out like those of the Chinese. They are square in shape and enclosed by a mud wall. Against the back or northern wall stands the high mound over the remains of the founding ancestor. Before the mound there stands an upright sepulchral stone slab on which are carved Chinese characters reading "thrones of the deity of the earth and of the souls of the ancestors." In front of the slab is a stone table for offerings. An avenue leads straight from the entrance of the cemetery to the high mound.

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

764 In the more recent graveyards the date of the setting up of the stone and the name of the deceased can still be read, but on the older monuments nothing is legible, not only because the soft stone of the region weathers badly but because the Monguors have scratched and defaced the stones.[57] On both sides of the approach avenue there are smaller mounds, in rows, each with a stone table for offerings. Husband and wife are buried under the same mound, and as the rows of graves correspond to descent by generations, the number of generations buried in the cemetery can easily be determined.

WORSHIPPING OF THE ANCESTORS

769 On the occasion that I attended, the T'u-ssu went after breakfast to the cemetery, preceded by more than fifty soldiers and followed by the heads of the noble and non-noble families, the chiefs and elders of the villages, and the officials of his administration. In 1913 all of these personages were still wearing the old official Chinese costume customary under the Manchu Empire: a silk gown, a long silk outergown, satin boots, and a hat with a red fringe and a button on top corresponding to the grade of official rank. Hundreds of Monguor women flocked to the cemetery in their brightest attire, and men and children of the clan followed the ceremonial parade. A table bearing a large hog and a pork pie which had been prepared from the head of the hog stood next to the offering table. Alongside the offering table were also laid out twelve rolls of steamed bread, wine, tea, paper and incense sticks. On the offering table there stood a loaf of bread shaped like a dish, into the hollow of which were poured oil, flour, and roasted wheat.

The master of ceremonies, in a loud voice, ordered the nobles to line up in rows according to their generation. The non-nobles formed in rows also, standing behind the nobles and separated from them by a perceptible distance.

The next order was to adjust hats and clothes and to

[57] The Monguors have a custom of scratching and defacing the steles in front of the grave mounds of the founding ancestors of clans and also of other celebrated ancestors, because they believe these chips have medicinal properties. Grinding the fragments to dust, they mix them with the medicines prescribed by physicians. In my own time a large part of the stele of the founding ancestor of the Ch'i clan had already disappeared and the inscription was illegible. I noticed even more defacement of the stele of the ancestor of the Li clan in Hanp'ingshan. This old cemetery is more elaborate than other Monguor cemeteries: on both sides of the large avenue leading to the central mound are animals carved in stone. This practice is allowed only for high officials. All these animals had been defaced in the same way by the Monguors.

D. C. Graham, Notes on the primitive religion of the Chinese in Szech'uan, *Jour. West China Border Research Society* 1 (1): 53, Chengtu, Canadian Mission Press, 1922–1923, writes that "in the Po-chih Miao near Sui-fu, Szech'uan . . . is a stone still worshipped, and for a few cash one can purchase a tiny bit of the rock which will cause him to recover from illness if he will grind it to sand, soak in water, and then drink the water."

[P.71a]

769 stand erect with arms stretched at the side. This was followed by an order to "worship the spirit of the earth." On this order the T'u-ssu, alone, went straight to the offering table before the central mound, prostrated himself, knelt and bowed nine times before the stele, and poured wine on the ground as a libation to the spirit of the earth. At the next order, "worship the ancestors!" the T'u-ssu, still alone, knelt and prostrated himself nine times before the stele, pouring the ritual libation of wine on the stone table, and performed the same rite at each end of the stone tables in front of the smaller mounds. A libation of tea was then poured in the same way, paper was burned, and incense sticks fixed on every small mound and on the central table in front of the great mound.

Again hats and clothes were adjusted, and at the order of the master of ceremonies the members of the oldest living generation lined up before the stele, and taking their time from his commands bowed, prostrated themselves, and knelt nine times, holding incense sticks in their joined hands, and so on. The rites performed by each group of the nobles and by the commoners have already been related above (pp. 60 sq.) as has also the sacrificial communion with the founding ancestor. At each distribution of pie and bread, the oldest generation received its portion first. Later the carcass of the pig was divided in the same way, and portions of the pie and the pork were reserved to be sent to noble members of the clan who had been unable to attend the assembly.

GENEALOGICAL REGISTER

173 769 The ceremony of veneration is followed by bringing up to date the genealogical register of the descendants of the founding ancestor, in the presence of the T'u-ssu and the whole noble group. In noble families, when a father, mother, or some other member of a family dies, the Monguors write the name of the deceased, the names of his parents, and the hour and day of his birth and death on a slip of red paper. This slip is impaled on a chopstick, which is planted in a bowl containing wheat, placed reverently before the picture of the Lama Buddhist or Taoist deity particularly honored in that family. The slip of paper is later removed, brought to the annual assembly, and presented to the T'u-ssu by the kneeling son of the deceased, who holds incense sticks in his joined hands. The name of the deceased is then entered in the register. After the book has been wrapped again in its yellow silk, the son first arises from his kneeling position and then prostrates himself three times. Unmarried persons are not noted in the book. In cases of adoption, the fact of adoption is recorded.

764 After these ceremonies the care of the cemetery is entrusted to one of the nobles for the following year. His duties include the collection of contributions, offerings, and the making of repairs. After a short deliberation to determine the selection, a bowl of bread is put in a

764 bushel basket and presented to the person who has been chosen; this act constitutes the act of appointment. The man thus chosen is assigned an assistant to take care of details. This duty is performed in rotation by heads of families..

769 792 Neither shamans nor lamas take part in this annual veneration of the ancestors. The absence of lamas is particularly striking, because during the year the routine duties of the temple of the guardian deity of the clan are entrusted to one or two lamas, as already described, while three times a year seven lamas take part in special ceremonies of veneration at this temple. The Ch'i T'u-ssu has the right to impose on the monastery of Erhkulung the corvée obligation to provide these lamas, because this monastery was originally built in the territory of the Ch'i clan by express permission, and because it has been given many grants of property by the successive T'u-ssu of the clan.

769 527 More than any other single ceremony, this annual veneration of the ancestors serves to reinforce the group unity of a Monguor clan. There is a visible effect on the clansmen, who normally live secluded in their remote valleys, when at the assembly they see the pomp and splendor of the parade to the graveyard, the soldiers with banners, the T'u-ssu in his official silk robe, adorned with embroidered patches on the breast with glittering dragons—a present from the Emperor when one of his ancestors visited Peking—and all the outstanding members of both the noble and commoner groups in their robes of ceremony. Even the discrimination between nobles and commoners fosters the sense of hierarchy. There is no doubt that the commoners, like the nobles, feel pride in recalling their old glories and are elated by the ceremonies, the festivities, the singing of old songs, and the horse races, wrestling, and merry-making in the open air.

576 624 The sense of hierarchy, just mentioned, is well exemplified by the behavior of Monguors visiting the T'u-ssu or presenting a request to him. The visitor first prostrates himself, then arises, unrolls his "queue" and removes his hat with his right hand, placing it under his left arm. Then, placing his hands together, palm to palm, he approaches the T'u-ssu. If he is asked to sit down, he does not sit but moves to the left side of the T'u-ssu and kneels on the right knee, with the left knee up, placing his hands, still palm to palm, on the left knee, in the Tibetan manner.[58]

Monguors regard it as the worst kind of incivility to start speaking and to keep the hat on the head in the presence of the T'u-ssu. This appears to be a very old Inner Asian symbol of respect. Among the Uighur Turks in the period of the T'ang dynasty (618–906),

[58] Thus the "outside" knee, farthest from the T'u-ssu, is up, "keeping the luck" between the kneeler and the T'u-ssu. This corresponds to the protocol of kneeling in a Mongol tent where the "outside" knee is that which is nearest the door and "keeps the luck," which is concentrated in the shrine at the back of the tent, within the tent.—O. L.

[p. 72a]

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

562 rings and four pieces of flowered silk. He ordered his officials to build her a seven-storied mansion at Lien-ch'eng. She was also presented with an inscription 173 reading "She displayed faithfulness," and given a grant of fifty *ch'ing* of land, the revenues of which were to provide her with "toilet expenses," the Chinese expression equivalent to the English "pin money." The grant of land, according to the family chronicle of the Lu T'u-ssu, was in the country of *chun ku erh*.[13] There are also legends of the bravery of the Monguor women during the great Muslim rebellion who joined in the battle just as their husbands were beginning to retreat, and thus turned defeat into victory. According to popular tradition, it was for this exploit that the emperor himself designed the costume that Monguor women wear on ceremonial occasions, including a sleeveless "military" jacket, military skirt, and a miniature shield and spear as part of the headdress.

562 In spite of all these legendary tributes to their ability, however, Monguor women do not play a conspicuous part in politics or administration; with the exception, already noted, that when a T'u-ssu dies leaving a son who has not come of age, the boy's mother acts as regent.

THE MATERNAL UNCLE

604 The relationship between two families connected by marriage is most clearly seen in the role of the maternal uncle, who while not a part of the family of his sister's child exerts, nevertheless, a powerful influence over his sister's child and over the family into which his sister's child is born.

In discussing the role of the maternal uncle, I shall divide my remarks into two parts, dealing first with the most striking aspects of his role, and secondly with the context in which these prominent aspects occur. Since the facts which are to be presented have considerable theoretical importance for the problem of possible matriarchal survivals in a patriarchal kinship system, I shall conclude my observations with a short theoretical analysis.

604 Among the Monguors the special rights of the maternal 764 uncle were most vividly manifest in three circumstances: (1) at the natural death of his sister's children (2) in the event of their having been murdered or having committed suicide, and (3) in situations where they were subject to punishment.

[13] These three Chinese syllables are one of the regular transcriptions of the Mongol term *jun gar*, "left hand" or "left wing." This expression reflects the usual Mongol practice of dividing territories and military organizations into a left (east) and a right (west) wing (the south being "front" and the north "back"). This expression is the origin of the name of the Jungar Mongols, who were the "left wing" of the confederation of Western Mongols in the region of the Altai mountains and the northern part of Sinkiang Province which is therefore still known, in the Western literature, as Jungaria or Zungaria. In this case, however, the reference may be to land taken from some of the Jungar Mongols who eventually migrated into the pastures of the Tibetan plateau near the country of the Monguors.—O. L.

[P. 91a]

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

604
764

A. The sister's children were not allowed to be buried without the permission of their maternal uncle.

When a member of the family died, a capable and outstanding man was invited to direct the preparation and the ceremonial of the funeral, and to send people to convey the obituary announcement to all the relatives. It was also his duty to call the deceased's maternal uncle or a member of the maternal uncle's family—e.g. his son or grandson. The maternal uncle was the "master of the bones" [14] of the deceased, and he disposed of the right to permit the burial or to impede and obstruct it, even with violence; consequently he was to be treated with the utmost reverence and respect at that moment.

If the relations between the two families had been unfriendly and hostile before, the maternal uncle and his family did not miss the opportunity to pay off an old grudge, impeding or at least delaying the burial and causing excessive expense to the family. He would assert that the deceased had not been well cared for, that the funeral was too small for a mother who had borne six or more children, worked her fingers to the bone, and never enjoyed any sunshine during her life, although she had been a fine mother and good homemaker, etc. He would require the deceased's family to invite twenty or thirty lamas to pray for forty-nine days, to offer a certain amount of alms to a fixed number of lamasaries, to buy the most expensive grave-clothes for the deceased, etc. In such situations, it was the duty of the director of the funeral to settle the trouble, saving as much money for the family of the deceased as possible by displaying with prodigality the proficiency of his eloquence.

If the two families had always been friendly, on the day of the funeral, before the dinner, the director of the funeral made a speech before the maternal uncle, saying that the deceased had died a natural death, notwithstanding that two or three doctors had been invited and a large amount of money had been spent for medicine; that the whole family to the best of its abilities had tried to assuage the pains and suffering of the deceased, to be agreeable and helpful to him, securing him a happy death, etc. Finally he asked the maternal uncle to examine the deceased and to give the necessary permission for the burial. In localities where the Monguors were used to burying their dead in coffins, as do the Chinese, the eldest son of the deceased knelt during the speech, presenting to the maternal uncle a plate on which was placed a hammer and the wedges with which the cover of the coffin were to be fastened. The maternal uncle himself drove a couple of wedges, after which others completed the fastening. (The same custom exists among the Chinese.) The sons and grandsons

[14] In both Mongol and Chinese usage, "bone" stands for the paternal and "flesh" for the maternal line of descent. Since the clan system was patrilineal, the body was referred to as "bones," even though the maternal uncle, who had jurisdiction in permitting burial, represented the "flesh" rather than the "bone" of the deceased.—O. L.

[p. 916]

1; Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

knelt and prostrated themselves, thanking the deceased's maternal uncle.

B. The maternal uncle was required to initiate and execute vengeance for the murder or suicide of his sister's child.

The duty to initiate and execute vengeance fell first on the brothers of the mother of the deceased—i.e. the deceased's maternal uncles—and only secondarily on the deceased's father, brothers, and other paternal kinsmen. Hence, the mother's brothers were the immediate protectors of the lives and well-being of their sister's children and it was they who stepped forward in the event that a man or woman had been murdered in his or her own family, or a married woman had been murdered or had committed suicide in the home of her parents-in-law.

To illustrate the way in which the maternal uncle operated as an avenger, and the relationships which he had with the various other relatives of the deceased, I shall draw on an actual case of suicide which I had the opportunity of observing at first hand.

In November 1915, in Lichiat'an ("the plain of the Li family"), the daughter-in-law of Li Chin-ch'ün, born in the family of Ch'i, was found one morning hanging from a beam. She had had quarrels for many days with her mother-in-law and had been beaten by her husband. Li Chin-ch'ün, sick with fear and apprehension, and with a sense of impending doom, went in a hurry to see the chief of the village and the elders, and begged a man who was on intimate terms with the girl's maternal uncle to convey the terrible news and to invite him to come over in order to permit detachment of the body from the beam and to fix the date for the settlement of the trouble.

A hanging person was not allowed to be detached without permission of the "master of the bones." After the permission had been granted, a shaman was invited who adjured and cursed the evil spirit, feverishly cut the rope with his sword, undressed the victim and cut a small piece of flesh from the hips, which he swallowed. The victim was then deposited on the *k'ang*, or sleeping platform, to await burial after the troubles had been patched up and permission for the burial granted by the girl's maternal uncle.

During the night, with all possible haste, the Li family, aided by some friends and relatives, sent away for safe keeping its best animals and entrusted to these friends and relatives its most precious belongings—clothes, agricultural implements, etc. Hogs and sheep were killed and vast quantities of wine were prepared, in order to deal in the best way with the ill-disposed guests, for on an empty stomach trouble cannot be ironed out; empty bellies do not reason. To meet unknown contingencies which might arise, the father-in-law of the suicide borrowed money at usurious rates, mortgaged some fields, etc., for a suicide ruined a family completely, and there was a saying that: "The value of the life of a person

/12 cont'd/

M 551 171 HM 551 614 Noyans, Bagaturs, Beks and Tegins, all the aristocracy now became the Vassals of the clan of Mongol and accepted its name. For the first time the united nation had a common name and the name soon became so glorious that every nomad was proud to call himself a Mongol. /Cited in English./

A similar custom existed among the T'ou-jen. Indeed, we know the case of a group of more than a hundred families under the lang t'ou-se of Tchouo-ni-tse who came to live in the Choei-mouo-keou of Sining belonging to the Li t'ou-se. The whole group changed its name from lang to Li and acknowledged Li t'ou-se as its chief.

M 551 /13/ however, due to historic events which we shall relate in their place, families under the same t'ou-se no longer bear the same name.

M 582 178 Hence, in this case, formerly the prohibition against marriage between young people bearing the same name corresponded to that forbidding marriage between members of the same tribe or clan. This prohibition makes us think of the great law of exogamy in all its breadth; an exogamy affecting not only the family but also the clan, since here the two merge. Whatever may have been the case in the past, the law of exogamy today bears only on the single family.

M 551 613 The T'ou-jen consider that the notion of name is exactly equivalent to that of family. All those who do not bear the same name, even though they are descended directly from the same ancestor, are foreigners /i.e., outsiders/ to the family. Here is a conception laden with consequences: daughters given in marriage and, taking the name of their husbands, will consequently leave the family and will become outsiders; they will no longer be buried in the family M 764 cemetery; since their children bear a different name, they will also M 582 be foreigners to the family of the mother. It follows from this that 605 since they do not bear the same name, there is no obstacle to the 171 marriage of the children of the two families. Thus one regularly sees

/113 cont'd/

587 593 764 The conditions the family lays down are the following: the sons will remain the descendants of the dead man; they will continue to bear his name and will later be buried in their father's cemetery. The new husband will bring them up and feed them. When they reach marriageable age, he will buy them a wife, or he will give the family the required sum ad hoc; then he will be able to send away the married ones, who will provide for their own subsistence. As for the daughters, he will be able to sell them. Since he obligates himself for expenses which so many burdens necessitate, the family does not demand any compensation for the widow.

587 589 578 721 /114/ It often happens that as a consequence of misunderstandings and quarrels, the brothers divide up the property and debts among themselves and form independent families. When a widow of such a family wants to remarry, the family requires the new husband to recognize the debts of the dead man; and the creditors exert pressure on the family to prevent the marriage in case of refusal; but if they are lucky enough to be dealing with a virago who threatens to come with her children and live with them, the difficulties vanish, the debts are put on the children's account and will be demanded later when the children are grown.

587 428 593 In the case where the widow with her children has inherited several plots of land from her dead husband, the new husband will be able to work them to support his family, but he will not be able to sell them since they are the property of the male orphans /sic/. Once they are married, the latter can demand these lands and send their foster father away with their mother, which often happens; if they get along well, they stay together. If, on the other hand, the new husband has lands of his own, and the widow does not, he maintains the family, gets the sons married, and sends them away. If during the marriage the family becomes richer, if the patrimony increases, and children are born of the new marriage, the children of the first husband will receive the share of their dead father plus half of the lands and assets acquired after the second marriage. The personal properties of the new husband are inherited by his own children. If the husband happens to die without leaving children, his personal

/150 cont'd/

121 able to leave hypothesis and move on the ground of truth, to prove by the vestiges met with in the daily customs the existence of the matriarchate among the T'ou-jen in a former period.

121 177 The thesis is all the more interesting because it concerns former nomads formerly occupied with the raising of large animals, nomads of Mongol and Cha-t'ouo origin, speaking today the Monguor language, a Mongol dialect.

The matriarchal institution in the Mongol branch of the T'ou-jen must be anterior by a good deal to their immigration to Kansu, which dates from the time of either the Yüan or the Ming dynasty; for, in those times, the Mongols practiced the patriarchate. As for the social institutions of the Cha-t'ouo branch at the time of its settlement in Kansu, we have no certain data.

121 To prove the thesis I shall make use of materials which will be found explained more at length in other subsequent studies, as well as those met in the present monograph.

/151/ B. Ancient Matriarchate

1. Double Burial

764 In comparative ethnology double burial is considered as a specific element of the matriarchate. (1) Now the T'ou-jen groups

1. Anthropos, 1930, p. 992. "Die Frage des Mutterrechts," by W. Koppers: In the light of comparative ethnology, the double funeral appears to be a peculiarity of pronounced mother-right culture. /Cited in German./

which have undergone the influence of Chinese civilization for so many centuries still practice this custom nowadays in the following

/151 cont'd/

764 form: After incinerating their dead according to Lamaist rites, they gather the remains in a chest ad hoc, and bury them provisionally in a clean, dry place on the slope of a mountain. At the ts'in-ming /ch'ing ming/, the festival of the dead among the Chinese, they disinter the chest to bury it for good in the common cemetery of the clan. This custom is followed even by the T'ou-jen who live beside the cemetery. This practice which the T'ou-jen claim to have been general in the old times nowadays is already no longer seen nowadays in many places.

2. Relations of the Maternal Uncle with the Family of his Sister and her Children

604 Another basic element of the matriarchate is the particular situation which the maternal uncle occupies in this organization where all the rights of the family seem to belong to him.

a) Right of life and death over his sister's children.

[761] Now, even today, among the T'ou-jen the maternal uncle has kept the most important rights over his sister's children; he has even kept the right of life and death over them. Elsewhere I shall describe three true-to-life happenings where one sees the maternal uncle preside over a family council in which, without any subsequent form of trial and without the intervention of the law or the courts, he decides that /152/ his sister's son will be buried alive. Now without the consent of the maternal uncle nobody would dare to make such a decree; no member of the family would dare take upon himself such a responsibility, not even the grandfather, although we are in the patriarchal period. These facts are all the more strange since capital punishment is not even within the jurisdiction of the head t'ou-se.

In its place I shall quote with all the circumstances the case of two brothers who in the lifetime of their widowed mother indirectly caused the suicide of their brother, a rogue of the worst kind, whom they had shut up in a room after beating him; the scamp hung himself. Now, for causing their brother's death, they had to pay an indemnity to their maternal uncle, the master of the bones of his

/153 cont'd/

604 These facts make understandable the expression so often met in this study, "tnat the maternal uncle is really the master of the bones of his sister's children."

604 b) Permission to bury the dead is given by the maternal uncle.
764 After what we have just said, is it not natural that the T'ou-jen call the maternal uncle at the death of his sister and her children? Burial will never take place as long as he has not given his permission. In the case of rumors about the unnatural death of a person under his jurisdiction, he will examine the body. It is to recognize his rights that the family will call him each time that a burial takes place to inspect the body, and they will humbly beg him to give permission /154/ for burial or cremation. When they bury in the Chinese manner, they present to the maternal uncle the axe and the wedge for closing the cover of the coffin. This is what the Chinese do also.

604 c) Precedence of the maternal uncle at the wedding.
585 In the light of these facts, is it not easy to understand the importance that the T'ou-jen attach, at the time of marriage, to the mother's clan and to the maternal uncle in particular? He presides then at the festivity at his sister's home. They offer him the great gift of honor. He is invited to remain standing beside the bride during the speech of the master of ceremonies, who names him at this moment the master of the bones of his sister's children. At the home of the son-in-law it is he again who is the great guest and who receives the gift of honor. If there are neither grandfather or old men, it is he who conducts the wedding ceremony, who orders the prostrations, and says the blessings. At the time of the carrying off of the animals and of the uproar at the end of the wedding festivity, it is he again who settles the quarrel in the name of his sister's family, and it is before him that the son-in-law's whole family prostrate themselves. At the dinner at the bridegroom's home, the master of ceremonies emphasizes the importance of the maternal clan: "The man as well as the woman must have a maternal clan so that they can prove their origin." They scarcely speak of the paternal clan. Addressing himself to him a second time, the master of ceremonies says: "The man is indebted to the maternal clan for his qualities, as the woman is to her family's clan." Not the least allusion to the paternal clan.

[633 cont.]

192
778
888
527

[Note on foreign text p. 635 cont.]
Tib. dbaṅ = force, bskur = to consecrate, to transfer. This is a ceremony of the transference of force, at which each lama receives a secret name (Unkrig).

To admit to lama standing with prayer: gẽsnien dzẽwla-.
[785] To observe a day of meditation: pi-chai (Chin.); goṅsoṅ (Tib. loanword) (6) [see Note 6 above].
Member of the Yellow Church: gẽloṅba (Tib. loanword) (6) [see Note 6 above].

Pages 634-635 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[635] 000

5. Customs concerning the Dead and Cremation*

* See "Notes," pp. 650-658 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

763 If someone is close to death, his clothes are taken off,
764 if he is wearing any on the kang. He is washed, shaved, or in the case of a woman the hair is dressed, and tied in a crouching position immediately after the last breath. A piece of cloth is thrown over the shoulder, which is the sole garment of the dead.

764 Then he is put in a death-box, which looks like a portable house, and propped up with straw. The box is placed on the floor in a room, and the closest relatives hold a death-watch there. At each meal the people bring some of the food in front of the death-box, burn paper, and kowtow. Each

[635 cont.]

764 evening the neighbors and friends gather and pray for the dead, squatting in a circle. Some days before the cremation, the [792] master of ceremonies invites a lama to conduct the death cere- monies and burn the corpse. First, however, the mother's [604] brother must release the corpse; this is done the evening before at the meal, when he demands an accounting for the dead person and his interment.

The cremation is undertaken outside the village in a crematory, which on each occasion is built at a different place. [792] The lama performs almost the same ceremonies on this occasion as at the fire-pouring. After the cremation the remaining bones [765] are kept in a wooden chest and temporarily buried on the spot. Not until the next spring do the relatives transfer them to the 766 family cemetery. -- Small children are not buried. Adult girls are burned quietly without ceremonies in an isolated place.

765 The strict period of mourning lasts 49 days. As a sign of mourning, the men turn their clothing inside out, and the women remove their ornaments and certain parts of their headdress.

[636] Details

763 Preparation of the corpse: Shortly before death, the men 764 shave first the head and then the beard of the dying person. If death sets in too suddenly, however, so that they can no longer shave him alive, it is left undone. After the shaving, he is undressed and his hands, face, and feet are washed, not the entire body. The men do this for men, the women for women. The women keep their long hair, as do girls. The hair is parted in the center and two three-stranded braids are plaited, which hang down over the breast or the back. In the case of sudden death, the corpse is merely washed and the hair dressed; the washing is then done with only a damp cloth (1).

[823] 1. [Foreign text p. 650.] Why no water may flow over the corpse could not be discovered; probably it is feared that the water would thereby be made impure; it is counted among the basic elements.

[636 cont.]

764 As soon as no sign of life can be seen from the dead person, he is immediately put in a crouching position, before the corpse becomes rigid, on the kang on which he died (3). With

174
764

3. [Foreign text pp. 651-652.] The conceptions of the people vary concerning the crouch-box and the crouch-seat. Nothing concerning an ancient origin is known to them. Some believe that the corpse is put in a crouching position only because otherwise it would not fit in the death-box; in this case the box is viewed as primary and more important. The informant says to this that formerly the Tujen were unacquainted with cremation and did not have any death-boxes either. This was first introduced by the lamas. The dead were exposed on the mountains for the animals to devour, as the Fandse do today. He himself would prefer to be buried in Chinese fashion; he feared being tied up and cremated.

[177]

Others maintain that the Tujen buried their dead in coffins in former times. As proof they cite the case of an old Tujen village in Yungchwan where coffins were exposed by a mountain slide; these stemmed at least from the early Ming period. This evidence, however, indicates little when one considers that as early as the Han period Chinese military expeditions took place in the nearby Huchu valley.

Even without cremation, however, the death-box is found in Tsinghai, for instance, in the Bengbar Valley, a branch

[636 cont.]

174
764

[Note on foreign text p. 651-652 cont.] valley in Hsi-ch'uan. The so-called Chia Hsifan (Village Fandse), who originally were Mongols and are Sinicized today, live there. They, too, exactly like the Tujen, put the dead in a crouching position in the crouch-box, although they do not cremate them, but bury them.

Furthermore, the Taoist monks and people who died in a sitting position are buried sitting in the crouch-box. There is an interesting corresponding expression for the death of such people, sōwā guei wōldzia, he has departed sitting, in Chinese tsuo-hua, that is, to be transformed sitting. The word sō- can mean "to sit" as well as "to contemplate." Such people are regarded as saints who, in contemplation, pass into another world. A death in this position is also regarded as especially honorable. A chorten is usually erected on the graves of these people. -- For the Taoist sitting burial, cf. the picture. This photograph was posed. The Taoist priest of Kanchiapu was happy to have himself photographed in his death-box and showed how he would be placed in the box. He kept this box standing in his temple and with pride showed each visitor this beautifully painted piece of carving. A very fine picture is also to be found in F. Dransmann, T'aishan-Kūfu Guide, p. 19. It is the mummy of the Taoist priest Suin, who at the time of Kanghsi worked for 60 years on the T'aishan and, crouching in the death-box, [652]was buried there in the "Grotto of the Immortal" (hsien-

[776]

[778]

[636 cont.]

174
764

[Note on foreign text p. 651-652 cont.]
jen tung). -- For the sitting burial in eastern Tibet, cf. Tafel, Tibetreise, I, 236-237, with drawing.

It is known everywhere that Tulkus and other lamas are cremated. In this connection cf. the description in Filchner, Kumbum, pp. 240-242. In the case of the sitting position of the lamas, the Taoist monks, and those who died in contemplation, however, the position is that of a sitting Buddha, with legs folded under and the hands at rest, whereas the position among the Tujen and the Chiafandse is quite different, namely, the fetal position.

Other explanations of the Tujen, perhaps the most widespread, say that the human being rests in this position in the mother's womb and is born so; naked and in the same position he then again goes back into the womb of rebirth, just as he came (reversed, to be sure). In this comparison, the earth or fire as the symbol of motherhood thrusts itself upon one, and the death-box (or among other peoples the sack or coffin) as symbolic womb. -- This explanation of the people has the most to it. It is grounded in very ancient religio-cosmogonic thought processes which closely connect birth and death. Skeletons in a crouching position occur from many cultures, and people in a fetal crouching position are repeatedly represented in the archaic high cultures, and to be sure in connection with the devouring

[175]

[636 cont.]

174
764

[Note on foreign text p. 651-652 cont.] figures (Chin. t'ao-t'ieh) and the underworld. Professor C. Hentze in his most recent works has extensively revealed these connections, and one is referred to them here. -- I learned nothing concerning the conception that the dead must be placed in a sleeping position, although it is known that the nomads there on the Koko Nor sleep in this position, which can sometimes also be observed among Chinese and Tujen during the day.

764 the arms bent, the hands are put with the palms together and pressed upright against the chest so that they touch the chin. The thumbs are not crossed. The wrists are tied together with a hemp string and this is placed around the neck so that the hands stay together and cannot fall forward. Then the thighs are pressed firmly against the chest and arms and the calves against the thighs, so that the feet and seat rest in one plane. The feet are wound with a hemp string so that they will stay in position (4). Now one takes a quadrangular piece of cloth.

171
764

4. [Foreign text p. 652.] The binding of the corpse is not regarded as tying down the dead person to prevent him from returning, as is the intention among the Chinese with the tying together of the feet. The informant claims that the binding has only the purpose of making the crouching position secure.

[775]

In view of the otherwise common use of sheep wool, it is striking that only hemp strings are taken. As a reason the people say that if one took wool, the dead would be reborn as an

[636 cont.]

764
171
[775]

[Note on foreign text p. 652 cont.]
animal with wool. In the case of hemp this is impossible, for one is not transformed into a plant.

[789]

The informant claimed to know nothing about hemp as a means of frightening off demons, as, for example, in the case of the hemp whip of the shamans. It may be that Chinese influence makes itself felt here, for the Chinese, too, use only hemp in connection with the dead, and it also plays an important role in the mourning costume (hemp belt, hair string, hemp veil, etc.). Strict mourning is therefore called simply "hemp mourning," ma-hsiao, among the Chinese.

764 about two ells square, cuts a round hole in the middle, and throws it over the dead person's head in such a way that the tips fall over the chest, back, and shoulders. This cloth is

[766] called "death garment." It is yellow for persons who have received the age-consecration, white for young people. It does not matter what kind of cloth it is made of (5). -- All

5. [Foreign text pp. 652-653.]
The shoulder-throw is strongly reminiscent of the shoulder-collars of the shamans. A connection could not be discovered. The Tujen maintain that

[789] the cloth is usually taken off before cremation: later one uses it as an amulet, since it has great healing and protective power. With regard to this, the informant observed that one could indeed take off the white shoulder-cloth before crema-

[766] tion, but that it had no magical power and was used for profane purposes. The

[636 cont.]

764
[766]

[Note on foreign text pp. 652-653 cont.] yellow shoulder-cloth, on the other hand, which a dead person with age-consecration wears, must be burned with the corpse, just like the sash that he received at that time.

this must be done while the corpse is still flexible. Once it is rigid, it maintains its position virtually unchanged.

[171] The death-box. The death-box is made either long be-
fore death or not until death has taken place, as among the
Chinese where the coffin is sometimes ready decades before-
[735] hand. Only poor people do not make the death-box until
after the death. The box is always made of wood, but it does
not matter what kind of wood it is made of; after all, it is not
buried, as is the coffin among the Chinese, but is burned with
the dead person. The box has the height of a litter or sedan
chair; the dead person fits exactly into it. The bottom of
the box extends into four carrying beams, [637] similar to a
[532] flat litter. The box [illustration appears here], however is not
[171] a simple wooden chest, but represents a small temple with roof
and doors and often very rich carving, similar to death-box of the
Chinese bonze (6). Unlike the latter, however, it has a sun

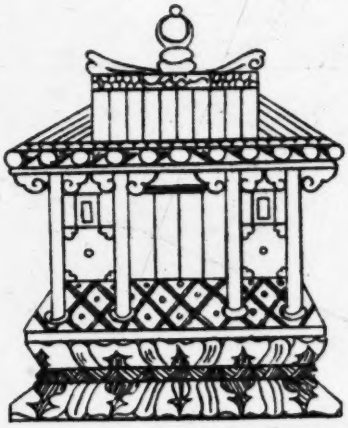
6. [Foreign text p. 653.] in the case of the coffin of the Taoshih the sun-moon attachment, the movable back wall, and the carrying pole are lacking. The corpse is usually put inside through the front door or from above, because the roof piece is removable.

and moon in the center of the roof, similar to the tip of a
[556] mani-pole; this is generally regarded as necessary. The box
is painted and decorated according to the wealth, piety, and
[321] affection of the relatives.

There are no definite ritual prescriptions for the prep-
[465] aration of the box. The carpenter receives the usual fee for

764 [637 cont.]
465 his work and, in addition, twelve
322 loaves of bread, two ells of white cloth, and a small measure of wheat (six pounds). After the work is done, this measure of wheat is put on the household altar, and the carpenter puts his tools on it. The master of the household sticks a few burning incense-sticks among them and puts the loaves before them. Then everyone makes a three-fold kowtow (7). The carpenter does not receive the white cloth until the funeral meal.

[782]
[532]



Death-box
(Drawing of a Tujen)

7. [Foreign text p. 653.] This ceremony actually has nothing to do with the death-box. It is customary after all carpentry work; it is done to honor the tutelary god of the carpenter, Lu-pan-yeh. It is a Chinese custom.

[782]
[776]
[177]

764 Lying in state: If the box is already available at death, the corpse is immediately put in it. If it is not yet ready, then the people put the dead in a crouching position on the kang or on the floor of the room in which he died. First, however, they lay down a white felt mat as a pad; straw is not used. No one may sleep or live in the same room with the dead, only in an adjoining room. A table with 12 loaves of bread, which come from the deceased's own family, and a water-lamp stand before the crouching corpse.

[462]
[593]

Putting the corpse in the box is always done by men. The son puts his father and mother inside. The father, however, never puts his son in; that is taken care of by the young brothers or cousins.

[637 cont.]

764 cousins. Female persons are also put in the box by men. Then, after the corpse has been propped up with straw, a board is slid in at the back from above. The men then wash their hands. The box is put in a room and placed on four raised clay bricks, so that it will be easy to pick it up later to carry it. A white felt mat is usually spread out beforehand. The box of a deceased master of the household or his wife always stands in the main house; in other cases it is put in the room in which the dead person used to live.

Next to the box there is a small, coffin-like little casket whose lid is pegged down like those of the Chinese coffins. It is the little casket in which the bones that remain after cremation are kept. Usually a rolling pin (noodle roller), which was 412 made at the same time as the coffin or death-box, leans 764 against the box (8). [638] Other rolling pins are not used at [322] all.

[177]

8. [Foreign text p. 653.] This custom, too, seems to have been borrowed from the Chinese. The rolling pin is called mien-kan or kan-ch'ang in Chinese. On the average it is one meter long and three to four centimeters thick. It is used principally to roll noodles. The rolling pin is also called pai-hu by the Chinese, that is, white tiger, because it can become the seat of the tiger god for soothsaying or shamanistic ceremonies, just as the spirit-spear becomes the seat of the spirit. The rolling pin is also handled in the following way: a man takes it with both hands and calls down the demon into it; then the roller shakes and trembles.

[778] [787] [776]

The enemy of the rolling pin is the threshing roller, lu-chu. It represents the dark (green) dragon, ch'ing-lung,

[776]

[638 cont.]

764
412
[776]

[Note on foreign text p. 653 cont.] the declared opponent of the white tiger. -- Furthermore, the white tiger is powerless against anything that comes from the dead or is connected with the dead; he fears coffins, death-boxes, burials, etc. For that reason

[322]

coffin-making is the best opportunity for making a rolling pin, and therefore the rolling pin is propped against the death-box. The relationship of the tiger to the rolling pin is thereby neutralized. -- People very rarely have a

[322]

rolling pin made other than at the time of a burial; the carpenter must then plane the pole on a threshing roller, the enemy of the white tiger. The millstone also has an effect similar to that of the threshing roller, for it crushes the provider of the "white," that is, the grain from which the flour comes.

764 all. As in the case of the crouching corpse, a small kang table with the gifts to the dead is also placed before the death-box.
171 Men and women kowtow before it, burn white paper, like the
[782] Chinese, and weep aloud (9).

9. [Foreign text p. 653.] Aside from the bone-casket I once saw a small wooden casket of coffin-like form beside a death-box. The peo-

[789]

ple said a small manlike doll lay in it. It was supposed to keep misfortune and death away from the house. The informant had not yet seen that and thought that this custom had come from

[638 cont.]

764
171

[Note on foreign text p. 653 cont.] the Chinese. Among the Chinese I learned the following: If someone died on an unlucky day -- which the geomancer determines -- there is danger that he will take someone else from the family with him into the beyond. In order to prevent this, the family provides a substitute at the interment. They lay a human figure made of apricot or peach wood, which the demons particularly fear, in a miniature coffin. At the interment this miniature coffin is buried at the base of the grave and the actual coffin is put on top of it. -- The Tujen bury the miniature coffin under the bone-chest. The Chinese name for this custom is ch'ung-sang, that is, double interment. One would do better to translate it as "accompanying interment." It clearly has nothing to do with an escort for the dead and the double interment in the usual sense. A kind of after-consumer [Nachzehrer] is involved here.

[789]

764
782

Gifts for the dead: The Tujen make an offering of 12 loaves of bread and a water-lamp before the dead (10). First,

[171]

[354]

10. [Foreign text p. 654.] Death-gifts and offering regulations correspond with those of the Chinese. The water-lamp, shui-teng, is an earthen bowl which is half-filled with water, beans are usually also added. A layer of oil is poured on the water. A little wooden plate, into which a wick is stuck, floats

[638 cont.]

764
782
[354]

[Note on foreign text p. 654 cont.] on the oil. This is to prevent the wick from burning too far down into the bowl; in order to save oil, the lower half is filled with water. -- The Chinese dough-lamp of long life, ch'ang-ming teng, has nothing to do with this lamp; it is unknown to the Tujen.

[171]

the deceased's own family must present these gifts. A so-called paper-bowl also stands on the floor next to the bread and the water-lamp. After each meal some tea, soup, or milk is poured into it, and little pieces of meat, bread, vegetable, etc. [264] are thrown in, according to what the family has just eaten. Until the day of cremation the dead is always supposed to partake of the meals of the household. The paper-bowl is an ordinary earthen bowl; it gets its name from the fact that after the paper-burning the charred leaves are thrown in it (11). Along with the

[171]

11. [Foreign text p. 654.] The paper-burning is typically Chinese.

water-lamp it is emptied in front of the gate on the last day, when the death-box leaves the compound for cremation. It is not broken, but may be used again for other purposes.

764
782
593

On the third day after the death, the oldest married daughter of the household appears with 12 loaves of bread. Then the family loaves before the death-box are replaced by the daughter's loaves. This is called "bread exchange." This takes place each time a person makes an offering of loaves. The oldest daughter is followed in order by the younger ones, whether or not the corpse has already been put in the box. Unmarried [589] daughters of the household do not make offerings. Every time [152] someone offers loaves, he also burns white paper and weeps aloud; the men, it is true, do not weep (24).

[638 cont.]

764
262
177

24. [Foreign text p. 657.] A custom that is no longer practiced among the Tujen was the eating of oil-dishes on the eve of the cremation, bän-sañ tsinani, that is, one cooks oil-dishes. The daughters and their girls (nieces) brought a measure of wheat flour and a jug of oil. Both would be roasted together in a kettle after the pai-ta and handed around. It was kneaded into dumplings like tsamba. -- Similar old Tujen customs have now been forgotten, according to the informant. The extensive customs of the Chinese are being adopted more and more, and in the foreseeable future the cremation of the dead will have yielded to the Chinese funeral celebration.

764
602
782

Only after the corpse is in the box do the other relatives come, and the same rite is repeated. These are only the relatives on the father's side, however. The other acquaintances and friends also make an appearance with them. The relatives on the mother's side come only on the day before the cremation, regardless of whether the dead person is a man or a woman.

[561]
[593]

With regard to the offerings for the dead, one must always distinguish whether a person of an older, a contemporary, or a younger generation is involved. The older generation never makes an offering to the younger, for example, the father never to the son. The man does make an offering to his wife, however, and vice versa. The man also makes an offering to his older sisters-in-law.

764
782

Of the offering of 12 loaves of bread that each one brings, he gets two back; ten are used in the house of mourning and are eaten by the relatives or guests. The loaves that are returned are called "returned plate."

[638 cont.]

292 765 [171] Mourning dress: Mourning is worn immediately after the death. It does not consist of a special white garb, as among the Chinese, but only of a change of dress.

During the period of mourning the men remove their colorful vests and take everything colored off their clothing, such as neck bands, sleeve edging, etc. Their long cloak is turned and worn with the lining, or in winter with the fur, on the outside. [302] They do not cut their hair, and they let the beard grow. The red or green trouser belt made of cloth is replaced by [639] a white or black one. Instead of the clothes-belt they wear a thick hemp string.

Like the men, the women also remove the colorful sleeve strips, trouser trimming, and shoe and boot ornamentation, especially everything red. The red or green skirt over the trousers is not worn at all. Instead of the colorful clothes, the woman puts on only a simple upper garment of one color. She takes off the ear pendants, arm bands, and the neck band, and [301] removes from her headdress all lace, tassels, and hanging strings, as well as the silver hair cap [Haarschale] and the little copper plates. She keeps only the simple, rigid frame of the headdress and covers its colorful strips uniformly by sticking green paper on them. She puts a blue cloth made of coarse linen over this as a head veil. She replaces her broad and colorful belt with a hemp string.

[607] [593] All the close relatives are required to wear mourning dress, those who also must give the death-offering. The only exception is the husband upon the death of his wife. He may not wear mourning.

● 764 782 [607] Prayer service: The prayer service is called "prayer tea." The relatives on the father's side assemble daily in the house of mourning; toward evening they sit on the kang around the open fire in the kitchen and pray the mani for the dead on their mani-string. When they are finished, they receive noodle soup and go home. This prayer service lasts until the day of cremation. One need not sit around the kang fire, however, but can also perform these prayers before the death-box itself.

[639 cont.]

764 782 792 The official prayer-service is undertaken by a lama, if possible by a hutukhtu. He is given a room of his own in the house of mourning, which ordinarily immediately adjoins the room in which the corpse is laid out, so that he can remain on the kang when he recites the office of the dead. A lama never prays directly before the corpse. A hutukhtu visits the house of mourning only on the day before the cremation, and stays there only one night. He also always undertakes the ceremonial cremation with the fire-pouring. Other lamas, on the other hand, may perform services in the house of mourning several days before.

[177] In recent times the Tujen also invite Chinese bonzes for the prayers. They adhere to their own rites. It also happens that bonzes and lamas are invited at the same time. Then the prayer rite is mixed. A cremation, however, is never carried out without some religious officiant first giving the prayers for the dead (12). Lamas of lower rank, who may not undertake the

[123] 12. [Foreign text p. 654.] The Tujen have no difficulties in inviting representatives of various religions for prayers. I was even requested once to give the Christian office of the dead. -- On the other hand, the Chinese Buddhists also invite the lamas to give prayers for the dead.

fire-pouring, or bonzes do not go along to the place of cremation, but remain in the house of mourning.

764 782 792 465 [604] For the prayer, the relatives, lamas, and bonzes receive a corresponding honorarium which is usually fixed by the mother's brother on the occasion of the demand for an accounting during the last mourning meal. The Chinese bonzes, to be sure, demand a fixed fee immediately upon being invited, otherwise they do not come at all. The other persons who say prayers, assistants at the cremation, etc. receive compensation in the form of alms on the eve of the cremation or on the morning after the cremation.

[640]

764 Hutukhtus and lamas of higher rank often harvest very large fees; there are people who donate up to two or three horses. 782 When the relatives accompany the lamas back to the monastery, 792 they take along a block of brick tea and boil it in the large 465 temple kettle for the monks, who sometimes also receive their own stipends so that they will pray for the dead. Wealthy people [272] buy up to 300 pounds of rice for this purpose, cook it in the [262] temple kitchen with sugar and butter, and feed the lamas with it. In addition, each monk receives a bowl of tsamba with pats of butter. It is popular then to light butter-lamps in front of the [788] temple statues, sometimes up to 1,000 of them. Often a large month-lamp is donated, which burns uninterruptedly day and night for 29 days; during this time the monastery holds the [556] prayer service for the dead. -- Well-to-do families also donate to the monastery the elegant clothing and the ornaments of the dead, especially of the women. A lama then attaches the name of the deceased to the garments and puts them in front of a [432] Buddha image in the temple. The garments are later sold by the monastery. With the proceeds the monks hold further prayer services for the rest of the soul of the deceased.

764 Demand for an accounting by the mother's family: Whereas the bereaved of the deceased's own family maintain 602 a watch night and day kneeling beside the box (13), the relatives

[177]

13. [Foreign text p. 654.] This custom of the deathwatch also seems to be influenced by the Chinese. The bereaved kneel on straw to the right and left of the box, just as the Chinese kneel to the right and left of the exposed corpse. At night they huddle together and put a clay brick or tile underneath as a pillow, after the old Chin. saying: ch'in san, chen k'uai, that is, to sleep on straw, to put a (clay)-brick underneath. -- The deathwatch is compulsory for the generation that owes repsect, called

[640 cont.]

764
602

[Note on foreign text p. 654 cont.] hsiao-tzu in Chinese, who are the male descendants and relatives of the first and second degree, for example, younger brothers, younger cousins, grandsons.

on the mother's side do not appear in the house of mourning until the eve of the cremation.

764 They must be informed, however, immediately after the death; this is called "death announcement." The master of 602 ceremonies, with a small bottle of liquor, goes to the mother's 604 brother to announce the death of the latter's nephew or niece (14).

[763]
[273]
[178]
[171]
[212]

14. [Foreign text p. 654.] In recent times the Tujen announce the death to the mother's brother by means of a written communication, like the Chinese. The original practice, however, is the announcement with the liquor-jug, to which is tied a flock of wool.

[792] The two now consult as to how the funeral solemnities are to
[465] be arranged, how many monks are to be invited to pray, how large the fees are to be, etc. The mother's brother is intent upon setting demands as high as possible, whereas the master of ceremonies sets lower ones. Once they have agreed upon
[273] the approximate level, they drink the little jug of liquor together. If they do not agree, the master of ceremonies returns home with the liquor and he receives new instructions from the bereaved family. Sometimes this happens two or three times. A final arrangement is not made until the last day at the accounting in the house of mourning.

On the eve of the cremation, the mother's brother, and with him all the male relatives on the mother's side, appears in the yard of the bereaved. The women among the maternal

764 [640 cont.]
[602] relatives do not come (15). The mother's brother is solemnly
[604]

764
601
[171]

15. [Foreign text pp. 654-655.] Three groups of relatives are to be distinguished, which correspond to the kinship divisions of the Chinese there: 1. One's own family, dzienani kudĕ, Chin. pen-chia. To this belong the descendants in a direct line, son, grandson, grandchildren, even the daughters who are already married outside. They live together in one compound. 2. Cousinhood, dzienani šăni, Chin. tang-chia-tzu. These are the father's brothers and cousins, in practice all the relatives with the same family name. -- This group is obligated to provide for the interment, while one's own family (even the daughters) wear mourning dress and are subject to the strict mourning taboos. As soon as the daughters return to their husband's family, however, they take off the mourning. 3. Affinity by marriage, urog, Chin. ch'in-chia, ch'in-ch'i. Since among the Tujen here the Chinese expressions are now in use, the following names should be distinguished: ch'in-chia in the strict sense is the relationship of the sons-in-law with whom the daughters have married. They have another family name, wai-hsing. The family from which the mother comes is called wai-chia; here the brother of the mother is the person of respect who represents her interests. The family from which the mother of the father comes is called wei-chia; here, too, for the

[592]

[177]

[640 cont.]

764
601

[Note on foreign text pp. 654-655 cont.] father his mother's brother is the person of respect, who in case of death demands an accounting. Wei-chia and wai-chia have the same signs; only the pronunciation is different. Literally translated it means [655] "the outside family," in other words, not belonging to the male line. Instead of wai-chia one also says niang-chia, which designates the family from which the mother comes. This expression is also used for the family of the lama, who, of course, is unmarried. -- The wai-chia or niang-chia does not appear until the day before the cremation.

[792]

The mother's brother is solemnly

764
602
604
[782]

received by the master of ceremonies and led to the death-box. There he and his retinue offer the 12 loaves, burn paper, and kowtow. During this time all the relatives must express great bereavement and the women utter loud lamentations. The mother's brother also weeps. After this ceremony, the mother's brother is led into the house and onto the kang, where he is given tea and bread. He rests a little while. The other companions are given hospitality outside in the yard where everything is set up for the funeral meal and the ceremony of the accounting.

[641] The mother's brother is led into the yard and sits on a white felt mat which is spread out on the ground directly before the entrance of the main house. He sits with his back to the house, facing the mani-tree. A kang table is put in front of him. The other relatives on the maternal side sit on straw to the right and left of him in a semicircle. Boards which are supposed to represent tables are put in front of them. Now oil-baking, tea, and pastries are brought. The serving is done by the cousinhood on the father's side (16). After the first bite, the guests are

[273]

764
177
605

16. [Foreign text p. 655.] At the interment, the Tujen have the

[641 cont.]

764
177
[605]

[Note on foreign text p. 655 cont.]
following offices: 1. The master of ceremonies. He takes care of everything connected with the customs concerning the dead and the cremation. He is called by the Chinese name sang-kuan, that is, leader of the interment, or hu-sang, that is, protector of the interment. He is usually picked from the cousinhood. 2. The gift-guardian. He takes the offering loaves and keeps them in a special room. In Chinese he is called k'u-kuan, that is, treasure-guardian. -- The Chinese also put a secretary at his disposal, who notes what the individual guests have given. The Tujen do not have this. 3. The host. He is there solely for the lama and provides for his entertainment, for his animals, for the things needed at the ceremony, for paper to burn, etc. The Tujen call him kängŭo. In his place the Chinese have an incense-manager. 4. The female cook, called dziemā nienie by the Tujen. -- With exception of the kängŭo and the dziemā nienie, the officiants seem to have been taken over from the Chinese.

764 given some liquor, and the bereaved on the father's side come
604 in the circle with the master of ceremonies and kneel on the
[602] ground before the mother's brother. The master of ceremonies
[273] steps forward and invites the mother's brother to take a drink of
[537] liquor. He hands him a hada and a piece of white cloth and requests him to present his wishes for the dead and to release the corpse for the cremation.

[641 cont.]

764 604 537 [273] The mother's brother puts the hada over his shoulders, takes a swallow of liquor, and begins his speech. Usually he demands an accounting concerning the care of his protégé during the latter's illness and demands the small fees for the prayer service, saying that they should be ashamed of such avarice, the dead had always been a good person, the pride of his family, he deserved better; now at least one should give him a decent death-box and provide the most magnificent cremation possible; far too few lamas had been invited, but now they should recompense them with much money and rice and butter, etc.

[273] Every time that the mother's brother puts forward a wish or a complaint and pauses, the master of ceremonies has his liquor bowl refilled and calls upon him to drink. Then the master of ceremonies replies in the name of the paternal relatives, seeks to invalidate the reproaches, to lessen the demands, and to emphasize the efforts of the family. He says that the most expensive medicines were procured for the deceased during his illness, for how could one neglect such a virtuous person; moreover, everything that the family could do in his honor and for his soul would be done, but one should not demand the impossible; after all, one must die sometime; the times are bad, but they would gladly give the lama that and that, etc. -- So it goes back and forth between the mother's brother and the master of ceremonies, until a course is finally agreed upon and the mother's brother declares that now he is satisfied and will release the corpse. Now the mother's brother is invited to inspect the corpse, but he usually does not do this.

764 604 After this speech, the bereaved arise, kowtow three times before the mother's brother, and return to the deathwatch by the box. The mother's brother follows them and kowtows before the dead. Then alms are distributed to the guests, usually [431] coins. This is called "to do good," for it is advantageous for the deceased. Then the meal for the relatives on the mother's side [735] takes place in a large circle. Usually there is rice, but among poor people only noodle soup.

[775] [177] [642] The ceremony of the demand for an accounting has the purpose of releasing the soul of the dead for the migration

[642 cont.]

764 604 775 177

of the soul, according to the saying: if the mother's brother does not open his mouth, the dead cannot migrate. When the soul has no more demands to make on this world, then it leaves house and home. Its demands are advocated by the mother's brother (17). --

[192]

17. [Foreign text pp. 655-656.] The people do not agree about the origin and meaning of this ceremony. The Chinese say that it was copied from them; the Tujen claim that it is an old custom of their ancestors. -- The Chinese also have the name bäda (pai-ta); they also say pai-wai for it. They have no special explanation for pai-ta; they interpret pai-wai as "to profit, to tain an advantage." There is no character for either word. This would not be so important, however, since there is a great number of dialectal expressions for which there are no characters. -- The informant believes that bäda is a Tujen word and means "to profit, to gain," exactly like the Chinese pai-wai. If this custom does not occur farther to the east, which would have to be investigated, then one could conceive of it as a borrowing from the Tujen.

The pai-ta of the Chinese is somewhat more extensive. First there is the donning of the white mourning cap, tai-hsiao, then the viewing of the corpse, wang-ku, that is, to view the bones; the mother's brother in this role is called ku-chu, that is, bones-master, an expression that the Tujen also have. Then follows the speech of the mother's brother, pai-wai. And when the negotiations on this

[642 cont.]

764
604
775
177

[Note on foreign text pp. 655-656 cont.]
occasion are concluded satisfactorily, then there follows first the kowtow with the offering for the dead before the corpse. Concerning the bone relationship, cf. Part 2, I, 2.

The speech of the mother's brother is somewhat different from that of the Tujen. He principally demands a magnificent coffin, elegant death-garments, and many bonzes for the interment. Indeed, he even reclaims things of the dead person, for instance, the cow that provided him with milk, as well as valuables that are desired as mementos, for, he says, since the beloved deceased no longer dwells among his relatives, one wants at least his personal objects out of affection. Everyone knows that this is done less out of affection than out of a desire for gain. [656] The quite un-Chinese demand for the milk cow is striking here, since the Chinese drink practically no milk.

Among the Tujen, the pai-ta makes a somewhat more selfless impression. The negotiations deal primarily with the lamas to be invited and their prayer fee, and this primarily so that the soul of the dead person will be satisfied and set out on its migration.

In the case of the pai-ta, therefore, a twofold viewpoint is to be differentiated, the social, which comes to the fore more among the Chinese, and the religious, which is of more concern among the Tujen. In the first case it is a matter of asserting the rights of the mother's family; in the second case, it is a matter of the conception

[642 cont.]

764
604
[775
[177]

[Note on foreign text pp. 655-656 cont.] of the souls of the dead, who evidently are regarded as living corpses. This point is decisive in explaining the meaning. It is a matter of the peace and good fortune of the family, which are endangered by a restless soul if it is not satisfied and continues to wander about. This satisfaction is brought about by providing a decent interment (clothing, coffin) and the prayer of the lama. Then "the way is open" for the soul, as the Buddhists say; the significance of the above-mentioned proverb of the Chinese is shown here. How strongly this conception still affects even the Chinese is shown by the recast saying, wai-chia pu k'ai yen, wang-jen pu shang t'ien, that is, if the mother's family does not begin to speak, the dead will not ascend to heaven. -- With all this, however, it becomes clear how strong the rights of the mother's family are, and its concern for its members even beyond death.

If there is no actual mother's brother, then the one nearest to the mother's brother takes his place; this is the one who follows the mother's brother in the inheritance.

764
787
[763

Time of cremation: As soon as the dead person draws his last breath, a relative goes to the soothsayer or Bon priest and has the day of cremation determined by the spirits. He does not enter the compound of the soothsayer, however, but announces himself in front of the large gate of the yard, because since he comes from the house of a dead person, he may not appear before the gods. Aside from the spirit-spear, spirit-table, spirit-litter, and the Bon priest, one may also ask a Chinese lay bonze. Lamas and Taoist bonzes never
000 determine the time. Only the day is given, not the hour. As

[642 cont.]

764 a rule, all young people under 20 years of age, whether male or
[766] female, are cremated in the evening at sundown. Persons over 20 years of age are cremated in the morning at sunrise. The place of cremation is prepared the day before.

Place of cremation: The place of cremation is usually chosen by the master of ceremonies after consultation with the members of the family. Only ground that belongs to the deceased's own family or to the relatives on the father's side is considered. A dead person may never be cremated on strange soil or on land that belongs to the maternal relatives. Special preference is given to a spot on a steep ridge between fields, because the fire for the oven can most easily be set there. In
241 choosing the spot, one must see to it that the smoke will not
764 blow across a sown field. Therefore, after the sowing festival
178 in the spring, a remote place is chosen in a ravine or on a mountain where there are no more fields. Aside from the fact that the seed would be trampled, the smoke of a burning corpse is harmful for the growth and the harvest. Therefore nowadays, when even the most remote little mountain patches are planted, cremation is increasingly on the wane, especially in the valleys, and the dead are buried in coffins (19).

[177] [Foreign text p. 656.] This may not be the most decisive reason for the disappearance of the custom, however, but rather the general Sinicization. In remote ravines everywhere a place can still be found for cremation, for even the Chinese in the valleys cremate their adult, unmarried daughters in such remote places.

764 If the fire-pouring is undertaken at the cremation, then
792 the lama himself goes out to the field the day before and
782 chooses a suitable spot. For this purpose he kneads a large torma

[642 cont.]
764 in the house and takes the torma to the place where he wants the
792 crematory to be built. The incense offering is then made in
782 front of the torma, but without any extra features, except tsamba and butter; the lama sprinkles the fire with holy water. While he then prays on a white felt mat, the others kowtow. In this
[776] way the lama requests the place for the cremation from the mountain-spirit; the incense and the torma are meant for the mountain-spirit. In making the choice, the lama takes into account the evenness of the ground, since for these ceremonies he needs a suitable place for the table and the mat he sits on.

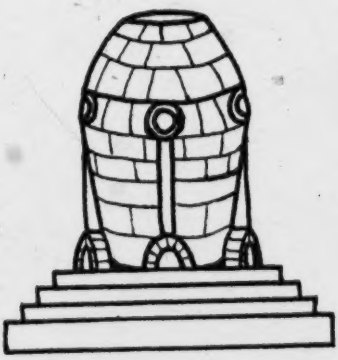
764 [643] Erection of the crematory: Now [illustration ap-
333 pears here] an oven is built out of clay bricks. The torma is set to one side, and no further attention is paid to it. First the men build a quadrangular base, about two ells high and two ells wide; on this they erect the round crematory, about four ells high. It looks like a barrel. On the west side a broad longitudinal slit remains open, through which the corpse is set inside. On each side of the base a large hole is left for the firing. The oven is calked with clay and lime and then is painted white (25).

25. Foreign text pp. 657-658.] The crematory may be made in various forms. The one copied from the crematory of the lamas (cf. the drawing made by a Tujen) is regarded as the most superior one. Similarities with the understructure of the chorten cannot be
[778] denied. On graves of persons who died sitting up, I saw chorten which represented an almost exact copy of the crematory, only slightly more rounded.
-- When the fire-pouring is undertaken
[532] at the cremation, the ground-drawing is naturally also made, and usually not on the ground itself, [658] but rather one puts down a large leaf of paper with

[643 cont.]

764
333

[532]



Crematory, tab.
(Drawing of a Tujen.)

[Note on foreign text pp. 657-658 cont.]
the drawing on it; then the base is built on it. Several sheets are often pasted together. The drawing is sometimes so wide that it sticks out under the base. The ground-drawing naturally also varies in the decoration, but the thunderbolts and the lotus flower are always there. The oven with the corpse is thought of as borne by the lotus flower, out of which come the flames of the transformation of life during the burning. In this connection cf. the section, "The Fire-pouring," Note 4. -- There are certainly connections between the crematory and the bum-pa of the chorten.

[532]

[715]

764
[604] The funeral procession: On the morning of the day set, the mother's brother and all the relatives of the deceased burn white paper in front of the box; they kowtow three times and start a loud lamention. Four bearers take the box with the corpse up on

[643 cont.]

764 their shoulders and carry it out to the yard gate. Before the gate the water-lamp and the paper basin are emptied. Here, too, the straw that served the bereaved as an underlayer during the deathwatch is burned. The procession goes to the crematory at a rapid pace. Old and young, men and women, follow in colorful confusion.

Young boys go with them. They carry straw, firewood, cypress twigs, a wooden bed or a door for the lama, a white felt mat, and a large iron kettle for melting the butter. At the oven, the men place the box on the ground. The relatives once more burn paper and throw themselves down to kowtow. Then 764 the master of ceremonies steps forward and addresses a few words 537 of farewell to the deceased. He says approximately the following: We have done what we could for you; we invited the lamas, we have prayed, we have given alms. We have made a beautiful box for you; you can be content. Therefore think no more of us and do not return to disturb the peace of our house. Be without care; we shall not forget you and shall continue to pray for you and to make offerings to you.

764 After this speech he distributes money among those [431] present. This is alms and is called "box-money." Now the [533] women once more begin the lamentation. They have a certain melody and express their grief in impromptu words. Then all go home. Only the master of ceremonies, two fire guards, the sons-in-law, the nephews, and the lama remain. The fire is serviced only by the master of ceremonies and the two fire guards. The sons-in-law and nephews assist with other operations.

Putting the corpse inside: The men who remained behind bring the litter to the west side of the oven where the broad slit was left. They put the litter with the back to this opening and draw the wooden wall out, so that the corpse is exposed in the back. Meanwhile the [644] fire guards have piled cypress twigs and wood on the oven floor. The corpse is now put on the firewood in the oven, the back to the east, the face to the west. [775] Then the slit is walled off. The face must be turned to the [823] west because the realm of the blessed is located there, to which he must now migrate.

[644 cont.]

764 792 The lama now takes his place on the bed or the door, over which a white mat has been spread, on the west side of the oven. His face is turned toward the east, facing that of the dead person. Before him stands a little kang table with his cult implements. Next to it lie two pieces of sacking, on which two white cloth runners have been spread; the little plates with the spices and the materials for the fire-pouring (cf. the appropriate section) stand on that. On the white cloth there is also a tray with a torma. The lama prepared it in the morning in the house of mourning and brought it along. This torma represents a spirit that protects the dead person and leads him westward into the land of rebirth. -- The lama comes from the west, the land of the Buddhas, and goes to the east; therefore he is seated opposite the dead person.

[778] [779]

764 372 The fire preparation: Now the iron kettle is put on three stones and a great fire is kindled under it; it does not matter how this fire is made. Several lumps of butter are thrown into the kettle and allowed to melt. The men then make the lighting pole, while the lama begins the prayers for the dead.

[792]

The lighting pole is a stick two to three meters long. Any wood desired can be used for it. A thick strand of cotton wadding is wound on one end. The master of ceremonies now brings a paper lantern, in which there is a small butter-lamp. It must be a butter-lamp; an oil-lamp or a candle is not permitted. In olden times there were no butter-lamps either, but wooden splinters from the oil fir. This lamp may not be lighted with ordinary fire, for instance, with the fire from the butter-kettle. It must be new fire which is struck from the flint on the first blow. If the master of ceremonies does not get a spark the first time, he may not try it a second time with the same stone. For this reason he keeps a whole series of flint stones in readiness (18). Now if the spark has fallen on the

[178]

18. [Foreign text 656.] In recent times matches are also used instead of the flint stones. In this case, too,

764
372
[178]

[644 cont.]

[Note on foreign text p. 656 cont.]
however, the match must burn at the first stroke; otherwise one throws it away and takes a second one.

tinder at the first blow and has ignited it, then the master of ceremonies takes a handful of straw, holds the glowing tinder in it, and blows the whole thing into a bright flame, with which he lights the butter-lamp. Then he soaks the lighting pole in the butter-kettle containing the fluid butter, holds it over the butter-lamp in the lantern until the head of cotton wadding flares up brightly, and lights the oven with it through the four fire holes. Meanwhile the lama proceeds with his prayers. As soon as the flames rise high, the master of ceremonies takes the soul-guide torma and throws it from above into the oven onto the corpse; it is burned with it. Then the lama undertakes the fire-pouring.

[792]

764
372
792

Cremation and fire-pouring: The ceremony of the fire-pouring is the same as on other occasions. Only here the butter and the spices are thrown onto the [645] corpse in the oven, for which the lama holds the pouring-tube over the edge of the oven. The spices, however, are thrown into the flames by the master of ceremonies. The lama takes only a pinch each time and puts it on a [illustration appears here] little plate which the master of ceremonies holds in his hand. When the butter and the spices are used up, the lama ends his prayer and goes to the house. With him go the master of ceremonies, the sons-in-law, and the nephews.

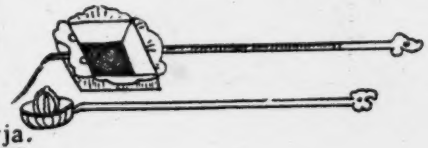
764

Only the two fire guards remain behind. They shatter the box, burn it with the corpse, and wait until the corpse is completely reduced to ashes. This takes several hours. Then they put the little bone-casket that was brought along in one of the fire holes without the bones and cover it with earth. They put boards over the still smoldering oven, which they weight with rocks and lumps of earth so that dogs and wolves cannot get in, and then they go home. They leave the oven alone. After three days the bones are stored.

[645 cont.]

764 All who participated at the cremation wash their hands
783 and fumigate them in a great incense fire in front of the yard
792 gate. Then they drink tea and hold a funeral meal. The lama usually returns to his monastery on the same day.

415 Ladling spoon and pouring tube. In the spoon, the thunderbolt, rdo-rja.



532 (Drawing of a Tujen.]

764 The fire-pouring is undertaken only in the case of those
795 persons who have received a Buddhist baptism. Old people in addition also receive the age-consecration and are regarded as lay
792 monks. If someone has died without the Buddhist baptism, it
778 is performed after death. This is done by the lama with the help of a chest mirror. Since no water may flow over the dead person, the lama holds the chest shield in front of him so that the head is mirrored in it. He pours the consecrated water from his can over this mirror image and gives the baptismal prayer (20).

20. [Foreign text p. 656.] The fact that no water may flow over the dead person is not the only reason for the washing in the mirror. The mirror image is washed even in the case of living persons, just as at the consecration of Buddha images. In this connection cf. also Filchner, Om mani padme hum, pp. 137-141. In the passage, "Then he takes a little metal mirror, points its front side in all directions, and sprinkles it with a few drops of water from his cult vessel," it is not a matter of simply turning the mirror

778

[645 cont.]

764
795
792

[Note on foreign text p. 656 cont.]
back and forth, but in all probability it is to catch the mirror images of the boys who have been brought before the Kampo and to wash these images.

[778] One thus baptized may now also, regardless of his youthful age, receive the age-consecration and become a member of the monks. Through this, every person, whether man or woman, from the twentieth year on, is assured of having the fire-pouring [783] by the lama at the cremation. The fire-pouring is a purifica- [372] tion for the dead, similar to baptism.

764 Ordinary cremation: If no fire-pouring takes place, then
766 no lama appears at the cremation. All ceremonies are dispensed with. The cremation is likewise taken care of by the master of [792] ceremonies, the two fire guards, the sons-in-law, and the nephews. But no lighting pole is used, no butter melted, and no fire struck; rather, the oven is lighted with any piece of [372] wood or a match. Nonetheless insofar as possible one sees to it that cypress twigs are at hand for kindling the fire. This is desirable, but not essential.

764 [646] Bone storage and later interment: One waits three
602 days for the bone storage. During these three days the members of the family go to the oven every evening, burn paper there, kowtow, and pour tea and soup on the ground.

On the morning of the third day the relatives on the father's side gather in the house of mourning and drink tea. Afterwards they go to the place of cremation, that is, the men and women of the deceased's own family and at least one man, but no women, of the related families, and furthermore the master of ceremonies and the two fire guards. The relatives on the mother's side do not appear any more. At the [782] oven they make an offering of 12 loaves and several pieces of thin unleavened flat bread, burn paper, and set down tea.
764 After they have then kowtowed, men and women dig the bones out of the four fire holes and put them in the bone-casket. Only

[646 cont.]

764 the little bones go into it, however, for it is only an ell long and two handbreadths high. The lid is pegged down, like a Chinese coffin. The remaining bones are carried by hand, aprons, or in a back-basket to the nearest mountain height. Animals as a rule do not eat them because they are burned. Only sheep like to nibble on them. The bones decompose very rapidly, however.

The bone-chest is placed in the oven, weighted down with clay bricks, and then the oven is torn down so that it forms a little mound with the chest buried under it. This is always done if the cremation has taken place after the harvest during the period before the grave festival in the third month.

[765 [769 At the grave festival, the Chinese ch'ing-ming, the bone-chest is buried in the communal family cemetery. The place of the cremation is leveled.

If the cremation is after the grave festival, then the oven is, to be sure, torn down and the place again cultivated, but the bone-chest is not buried at the place of the oven, but on a remote ridge of arable land in a field belonging to

[765 the deceased's own family. Only at the next grave festival in the following year is it transferred to the family cemetery.

If the cremation has taken place on a distant mountain far from the family, then a tent is pitched there to wait until the third day, the bones are stored, and the chest is brought down in order to bury it on the ridge of a field on one's

[776 [778 [823 own land. Such a cremation may never be undertaken on the peak of a mountain, but about halfway up. The peak is sacred to the mountain-spirit and may not be desecrated.

If the bone-chest has been buried in the oven or field, then the relatives burn white paper before it, throw pieces of bread on the bone-grave, and pour out tea before it for the dead. Then they kowtow and go home. The guests are treated with tsamba and butter in the house of mourning. The

[465 master of ceremonies receives 12 loaves of bread and two ells of white cloth; the two fire guards are given six loaves each and two ells of cloth.

[647 cont.]

765
[769]
[777]

[Note on foreign text pp. 656-657 cont.] certain lucky days, but the Tujen have no special lucky days for the dead. The day of the ch'ing-ming, however, is always an unfailingly lucky day, and therefore one waits until then. On the other hand, he claimed that the Tujen formerly never had cemeteries, but buried their dead wherever they wished, although not in a common field; after the introduction of cremation this was all the more unnecessary. -- One can scarcely ignore here the probability of an original double interment.

[764]

The period of mourning: The actual period of mourning lasts 49 days. Originally the Tujen had no hundred-days memorial; nowadays, however, they often imitate the Chinese in this.

[777]

During these 49 days after the storage of the bones, the chief mourner must go to the provisional grave daily at sundown and burn incense there, pour out soup, and kowtow three times. On the forty-ninth day, however, the whole family goes out, makes an offering of tea, bread, and liquor, and burns paper. In former times on this occasion the men burned the hemp hair-string from their queue, and the women the paper parts of their headdress, which they wore as a sign of mourning. Since nowadays the queue and headdress have disappeared, this ceremony has been lost.

[782]

[778]

765
784
[574]
[796]
[262]

Starting from the day of death to the forty-ninth day after the bone storage, the members of the family of the dead person may not pay any visits, not even to relatives. If they want to speak to someone, they may not enter the yard, but must ask the people to come out before the yard gate. Even more strongly are they forbidden to visit temples, to appear before the gods' images, to make incense offerings, or to undertake other cult activities. -- During this time spiced

765 [647 cont.]
784 foods, white flour, butter, and milk are also prohibited. The food consists of simple tsamba. All trips must be made on foot;
[262] one may not ride, but one is allowed to take a beast of burden
[585] along. -- The mourners must abstain from marital intercourse;
also, they may not appear at weddings, for that brings misfortune
[783] to the bride. -- A bereaved shaman or soothsayer may not offici-
[796] ate during this time; in general mourning makes one unclean, and therefore he should not even be present at a religious event.

[783] After the forty-ninth day these prescriptions automatically lapse. Special purification ceremonies are not necessary. One again starts making the incense offering in the yard, shaves, and pursues his daily activities.

769 Veneration of the dead: Aside from the grave festival, at which all gather for the offering at the kin-group cemetery, the Tujen have no veneration of the dead. There are no ancestral tablets.

769 There is no further thought about the soul of a dead per-
775 son; it has started its migration. Most people know almost nothing about any reward or punishment after death. They do fear the dead, especially if [648] someone has died with claims on or debts to the living, for instance, if the dead person had been robbed, if a deed was unexpiated, etc. Then the soul
[777] haunts its old dwelling, brings misfortune and illness to its own
[791] family, indeed, even discord and death. In such cases one questions a soothsayer concerning the cause of the misfortune, and when it is established that a soul of the dead is involved,
[782] it is determined in detail what still must be done for this soul. One goes to the grave, burns paper, and makes an offering to the dead. If that does not help, one invites a lama to pray for several days; the latter makes a special torma, which is carried away so that the misfortune will be banished.

764 Youthful and unnatural deaths: Boys at the age of 15
885 years are reckoned as adults; they receive a cremation like the adults, regardless of whether they are already married or not.
766 From one to 15 years of age, they are exposed on the field,

[648 cont.]

766 and on the same day on which the girl died. If she died in the morning, she is burned in the evening; if she died in the late evening, she is burned the following morning. A man from her own family takes the corpse just as it is, with the clothes, over his shoulder, carries it to a remote ravine, digs a hole by a copse, piles straw and twigs in it, puts the corpse on top, and burns it. Usually a few other people also help. One does not wait until the dead girl is completely reduced to ashes, but leaves the still smoldering corpse behind and goes home. Dogs and wolves consume the remains. As soon as a girl has been married, however, •764 even if only for a few days, she receives an honorable cremation like any other woman, with all the ceremonies, with prayer, and with a death-box. This also applies to those daughters who [588] have not yet found a man, but who are married to the sky or the mani-tree.

762 If an adult, whether a man or a married woman, has 766 killed himself, he receives the usual cremation ceremonies without fire-pouring and without a death-box. Usually no one [782] is invited to give the prayer. At the final funeral meal, how- [604] ever, the mother's brother will demand a precise accounting concerning the causes of the suicide, especially if a woman is involved, and he will insist upon an honorable death rite with a death-box. Disputes are common at such times.

766 Those who lost their lives through violence, such as drownings, falls from heights, murder, etc., receive a cremation or interment like any other person of the same age.

[649] Those who died outside the yard, be it an ordinary death or through an accident or suicide, are always laid out outside of the compound, say, in a special tent or in a cave. If a suicide has taken place inside the yard, however, the person who has taken his life is laid out in the house.

792 Persons who have died far away are brought home. If 766 this is not possible, for instance, in the case of soldiers, a lama [212] is invited. While praying he writes down the name of the deceased on a stiff sheet of paper and sticks it in a measure of grain (wheat), which is then placed on a table in the room into which otherwise the death-box would have been brought. All the same ceremonies are now carried out in front of it, as though

[649 cont.]

792 an actual corpse were present. On the day set this sheet of paper
766 is burned in the field, but quite simply, without any oven and
without a lama. No one bothers with the ashes. The lama writes
[212] the name on a second sheet, however, and this is put in the bone-
chest, which is buried at the place of the burning (23) until the

[171]

23. [Foreign text p. 657.] The neighboring Chinese have a similar custom. They place the ancestral tablet of the dead person in a little coffin and bury it in the cemetery. This interment has legal force; when it is undertaken, it is regarded as proof that the person is actually dead. A parallel is found among the Chinese in the proxy wedding with a stuffed straw-man.

[212] transfer to the kin-group cemetery takes place at the grave festival. -- The signs that the lama writes are Tibetan.

Word List

192
764 Cremation: ġaldë awu- = to put in the fire.

To die: ugei (guei) wōldzia = he has passed away.

He died sitting: sōwa guei wōldzia; tsuo-hua (Chin.) = transformed sitting.

Death of a bonze: niesā sdzia = he has flown away. yū-hua (Chin.) = feathered transformed.

Death of a lama: siaġladzia = he has turned to nothing.

[775] He is reborn: härga (xara) rēdzia = he has come back; sdziewa.

One has put him in the crouching position: ndāñlalġadzia = he has been put in equilibrium.

The dead person: guei woldzān kun = departed person.

Death clothing (shoulder hanging): bōw-la (Tib. loanword) = white garment.

Death lament: dō tedzi ula.

192 [649 cont.]
764 Death box: odõ̃ṅ.
Bone-chest: mula odõ̃ṅ = little death-box.
[354] Water-lamp: fdzë dzũla.
Paper-bowl: tsialdzë pendzë.
To wear the clothing reversed: diela furula mõsë.
Prayer tea: rgē tsia.
[785] Prayer for the dead: xar(i)dzăn kunë xuenuo mani sguorluo- = (to pray) in behalf of the deceased person afterwards the mani in the circle.
Prayer fee for the lama: mbō (Tib. loanword).
Prayer alms: odõ̃ṅ dzied = death-box alms.
192 Own family: dzienāni kudë.
601 Relatives on the father's side: dzienani šăni = own relatives, those with the same family name.
Relatives on the mother's side, affinity through marriage: urog̀. Those with different family names.
[608] Artificial kinship: šăni funi = kinship-smoke. Neighbors and friends who take the place of relatives in performing services at the reception of guests, cremation, etc.

[650]
[764] Bone-master, mother's brother: tsiġā̃n yesëni daxu = the owner of the white bones;
ku-chu (Chin.).
Mother's brother: nëġă; achiù (Chin.).
Nephew (sister's son): dzie; wai-sheng (Chin.).
Son-in-law: kurgien; nũ-hsũ (Chin.).
Sister: agũ.
Daughter: fsdzũn.
192 He died as a rider: tsũrog morina bagaldilā sdzia fugudzia.
764 He died as a settler: sā̃ṅrēdzi liela guei wõ̃ldzia.
Burned bones: xuodzën yāsë = dry bones.
Crematory: taw (tab) (Tib.).
Lighting pole: xuămbar.
Lay bonze: lao shih-fu (Chin.) = old master.
Demand for an accounting: bădа; pai-ta (Chin.).
769 Grave festival: ch'ing-ming (Chin.); sẽṅ-miṅ (21) [see Note 21 above].
192

3: Schröder--298 M-5 (1946-1949)1952-1953 AE9 Monguor AE9

241
782
756
754
341
292
534
778
142

a

b

782
792
292
764
[171]

c

d

(Caption on following page.)

[865 cont.]

Caption for illustrations a, b, c, d.

241 a: Fully-equipped shaman-mast in the local temple at Pao-chia-
782 k'ou (Sha-t'ang-ch'uan) at the sowing festival, 1948. The same
757 shaman-trees are erected at the harvest thank-offering. There
[757] are also simpler forms, however. (To accompany the chapter,
[341] "The Harvest Thank-offering.") b: Drum-shaman, fa-shih or
[292] shih-kung or bo. A Tujen from the Yang-p'o-t'ai near the Tujen
534 village Chia-chia-ling. Taken at the harvest thanksgiving festi-
[778] val, Chia-chia-ling, October, 1948. In his right hand, he holds
[142] the hoop-drum with the stick; in his left hand he holds the three-pointed spirit-sword; over his shoulder he carries the hemp whip with the carved handle. The five-part crown is like that of the gurtum. (To accompany the chapter, "The Sowing and Harvest Festivals.")

782 c: Lama in full dress and with implements for the fire-pouring.
792 Photograph posed in the lamasery Hsin-szu, about ten kilometers
292 west of Tangkar, May, 1949. (To accompany the chapter, "The Fire-pouring.") d: The Taoshih of Kanchiapu in the death posi-
764 tion in his death-box. The doors have been taken off. Photo-
[171] graph posed. The death-box of the Tujen is almost identical. Kanchiapu, spring, 1949. (To accompany the chapter, "Customs concerning the Dead.") Photographs: Dominik Schröder.

(continuation of text)

782 butter, little plates, etc., until everything is burned in the fire.
792 The lama now gives the concluding prayer amidst the sound of his percussion instruments and returns to the house. -- He cleans his instruments, takes his meal, receives his fee, and on the following day rides back to the monastery with his companions, unless one wants to keep him there for other prayers that have nothing to do with the fire-pouring.

[357] The compound remains taboo for seven days, and during
[784] these seven days the burning-place is left as it is. Afterwards,
the wall is torn down, and all traces of the ceremony are removed.
[333] The clay bricks can be used again for profane purposes.

[205 cont.]

774 Unequivocal statements concerning the conceptions of the soul among the Tujen could not be secured. It is true that several souls can be inferred from the death customs described, but the naming and peculiar nature of these souls remain vague.

192 Two designations for "soul" come into consideration:
774 namsŭ (namšĕ) and suniedzĕ. The word namsŭ is seldom used. According to the DMF (256), it corresponds to the Tibetan ñams-su. This independent connection cannot be confirmed in Ch. Das, but ñams alone is found there, p. 476, with the meaning: "...the soul, mind, spirit as an entity" [cited in English]. The su could at most still be an instrumental particle. One will probably not go wrong, therefore, if he equates namsŭ not with ñams-su, but with the Tibetan rnam šes, pronounced nam-še. Ch. Das (762) translates it with: "...the mind, knowledge, intellect, memory" [cited in English]. H.A. Jäschke, on the other hand, has for it the explanation (315): "3. in popular language: soul, e.g. of the departed..." [cited in English]. The much more frequently used word suniedzĕ has the same meaning. It is the equivalent of the Mongolic sünesün. Both namsŭ and suniedzĕ signify nothing uniform, for there are three souls: nigĕ
774 kundu ġuran namsŭ-i, or nigĕ kundu suniedzĕ ġuran-i, that is:
775 "There are three souls to a human being"; cf. DMF 256. And of what kind are these souls? toroń yesĕ saġdzini, ġuordani sdziewa awura sdzini, ġurandani iliedu furani (cf. DMF 361), that is, "The first guards the bones, the second assumes the rebirth, the third transforms itself into a demon." Mostaert, op. cit., refers to Sanžeev, "Weltanschauung und Schamanismus der Alaren-Burjaten [World-view and shamanism of the Alar-Burjat]," Anthropos, 22, 1927, p. 585. The conception of the tripartition,
[171] however, is much more widespread; at any rate in Lamaistically influenced Asia it is found almost everywhere. Even the Tsinghai Chinese know of three souls: one goes into the underworld, one stays with the corpse (bones), one wanders around in the world. What is common to these three souls is that they can separate themselves from the body.

775 The bone-soul remains with the skeleton after death, at
764 least until the rite of the bădа has been completed, whereby it
604 is satisfied and becomes free. Its agent in this ritual and the

[205 cont.]

775 764 604 decisive authority is the mother's brother of the deceased. Therefore among the people he is accordingly called tsiĝan yesĕ daxu, that is, "white-bone-master"; Chinese [206] ku-chu, that is, "bone-master." This soul finally becomes free at the cremation, at which, of course, the bones (better: the skeleton) are destroyed except for a few remains. The peculiarity of this soul is its 775 614 clan [Clan] membership, as is expressed by the name of the mother's brother and his importance. He is the representative 604 of the mother's kin-group [Sippe]. The Tujen, however, like 764 the Mongols and other tribes, determine the kin group according to the bones. Among the Tujen likewise the question as to the family is: "What are your bones," tsini yesĕ yan-i? Bones and clan (kin group) therefore are equated. Thus one has grounds for maintaining that the bone-soul is borne by the life principle of the clan and propagates itself in the clan. How is unclear. As clan-master, the mother's brother is also bone-master. He exercises more rights over his sister's child than the latter's actual father and also demands the final accounting. But what happens to the thus liberated soul? Perhaps a similar custom among the Manchuria-Tungus, specifically among the Birarčen [Birar] and Kumarčen, provides insight into this. S. M. Shirokogorov reports of their soul-migration into the underworld: "The second river is the Yellow River, after crossing which the soul meets with Mongoldai Nakču, i.e. Mongoldai 'senior of the mother's clan,' which examines the case before allowing the soul to cross the Black River beyond which Inmun-kan reigns" [cited in English] (Psychomental Complex, p. 142; as cited in UdG, X, p. 563). Mongoldai, the master of the mother's clan in the underworld, here does what the bone-master of the dead does in the upper world: he demands an accounting and investigates the condition of the dead person's soul. The result is also the same: the soul becomes free for its migration and the corpse free for the burial. I could not confirm this underworld correspondence for the bāda among the Tujen; at any rate, nothing drew one's attention in this direction. Perhaps the extension of the conception into the [769] underworld is lacking among them because they practice

1 [i.e. - the "bone-soul", one of three souls of a human being - ANALYST]

[206 cont.]
775 practically no ancestor cult and therefore know of no ancestor
614 spirit like the Tungusic Mongoldai Nakču. Unconsciously, how-
604 ever, forgotten conceptions might still have an effect. At any
764 rate, a custom that is often explained as thirst for honor and
[769] avarice would in this way find a suitable explanation. In the case of the bǎda the principal demands of the mother's brother are directed at the inviolability of the corpse (= no violent death) and a costly death-box, as well as splendid prayers for the dead. When, in connection with the underworld custom of the Tungus, one assumes that the dead person will reach the clan-master of the underworld in an honorable, fine condition and contented, then the care of the earthly clan-master for his clan members is thereby also documented, and the clan has a good reputation in the beyond. Father W. Schmidt sought to interpret similar conditions among other peoples meaningfully, and, to be sure, in connection with the double interment of the matriarchal agrarian culture. In the latter the fleshly parts are allowed to fall to destruction. They are of no significance for the further existence of the human being. The bones, however, which are carefully cleaned and then finally interred or supplied for the cult, are important. Moon-mythological ideas lie at the bottom of this procedure. The waning moon becomes thinner and thinner, until finally only [207] a "bone" remains, but the latter gradually clothes itself again with "flesh" and grows to become the full moon, a mirror image of the perishing and becoming of man. According to this conception, the skeleton is the "essential," the support; see UdG, X, pp. 742 f. If this meaning of the bones is so harmoniously a part of the moon-mythological matriarchal agricultural culture, then the striking arrangement among the Tujen, bones -- mother's clan -- mother's brother, is also explained. -- The sociological side of this custom will not be dealt with here.

775 The second soul goes to the western paradise (Tushita)
171 and waits there for a new rebirth. The incarnation into lower forms is regarded as punishment for a vicious and evil life, exactly in the sense of the Buddhist-Lamaist wheel of life. These conceptions, however, do not have much force among

[207 cont.]

775 the Tujen. For instance, one hears little about a Buddhist hell,
171 which plays a much more important role among the neighboring Chinese and is quite graphically portrayed in many temples. It is true that the Tujen like to consider the misfortune in this world as punishment for earlier transgressions. This soul, which
775 one could call "incarnation soul" or "private soul" -- in con-
764 trast to the clan soul -- becomes free for the incarnation through the transforming lotus fire at the cremation. The informant, at any rate, interpreted the lotus-mandala and the fire at the cremation in this sense and ascribed to them a transforming power. This does not mean that this soul remains in the body as long as, say, in an animated corpse.. Rather, at the death of the person, the lamas are supposed "to open the way" through prayer, so that the soul may reach Tushita. To what extent such explana-
[171] tions correspond with the orthodox Buddhist doctrine will be left undecided. Any any rate, the conceptions of the people are vague.

775 Even more unclear are the conceptions about the third
776 soul, which is supposed to transform itself into a demon. Nothing is known about its fate and about the cause of such a transformation. Such a soul is feared, however. Perhaps it is this soul that in case of dissatisfaction after the bāda disturbs the
[764] human beings at the command of the clan soul, haunts the
[782] house and yard, and causes sickness and misfortune. At any rate, a great part of the offerings and prayers at the death rites is given out of fear of this soul. The constantly expressed wish to the dead person runs: "Forget us, be content, do not come
775 back." A natural discontent and a kind of missing of life's goal
776 are connected with the soul of unmarried adult girls. It be-
589 comes a demon who is so dangerous that even other demons flee from it, for which reason the Bon priests take the material for
[765] their bone flutes, their whip, etc. from the corpses of such girls. The discontent and non-fulfillment can only be accounted for in this case by the unmarried state, which, according to Tujen conceptions, goes against every natural ordinance for a female person. One may suspect that this soul-belief also has a strong
[588] effect on the custom that the Tujen call "to arrange the heavenly

[208 cont.]

775 nonetheless know of no ancestor cult, and it is striking that they
[171] are not inclined to take this over from the Chinese. The offer-
[769] ings to the dead at the funeral celebration are rather to be under-
stood as from the fear characterized above and from the ideas that
[764] the deceased would remain among the living and would need to
partake of food and drink. Also, all the grave gifts, which are
[782] so important to the Chinese, are lacking among the Tujen.

774 Aside from death, the soul can escape and wander off
[513] even during life. This happens in dreams and during illness,
[753] indeed, even during ordinary sleep. How this is to be imagined
is shown by a passage in the Geser legend, in which it is said
that a scoundrel had fallen asleep and his souls, in the shape
of a black and a white snake, had crept away out of his nostrils,
[756] for which reason he was unable to wake up. The recall of the
[755] soul is a frequently desired activity of the Tujen shaman. This
catching of the soul is called: suniedzĕ xura-. It is unclear from
this expression which of the three souls is involved.

[209] b) The World-picture

772 The world-picture of the Tujen extensively corresponds
[171] to the Lamaistic one, which, indeed, is essentially the same
as in the ancient Orient, in pre-Buddhistic India, and in Central
Asia. It has no pecularity.

In the center of the universe stands the mountain Sumeru
(rira). The world is arranged around it in three layers. Sun,
moon, and stars circle above. In the center is the surface of the
earth with the various countries, human beings, and animals.
Around the foundation of the world-mountain lie the under-
world and the water. This conception is repeated in its entirety
or in part in the religious life in pictorial form. It is found
most unequivocally in the mandala-offering of the Bon during
[778] the erection of the pole-goat (mountain-torma). More or less
clear variants of it are: the central fort with the mani-tree, the
chorten chamber with the sky-column, the obo, the ground-
drawings (mandala), at the fire-pouring, and at the cremation.

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

PAGE

Prodigality of the Monguors concerning cult and religion 137
Celebration of the cycle of age 137
General rite 137
Lamaist rite 138

XIII. Death 139
Souls 140
The first soul 140
The second soul 141
The third soul 142
Cemeteries 142
Different modes of disposing of the dead 142
Death 143
Guests and the maternal uncle 144
Cremation 145
Mourning customs 146
Ominous deaths and the abodes of evil spirits 146
Women who die in childbirth 146
Suicides 147

I. INTENSIVENESS OF THE RELIGIOUS LIFE OF THE MONGUORS AND THE POSITION OF ITS FORMS

PRIVATE AND PUBLIC RELIGIOUS LIFE

The religious life of the Monguors is very intensive, and not a superficial veneer that scales off easily. Indeed, it has not only a private and a family characteristic, but a social and compulsory aspect, as well.

A missionary, accustomed to living with Chinese, is quite surprised when he comes among the Monguors, by their almost continuous recitation of *Om Mani Padme H'um*.[1] It is repeated by old and young, both men and women, hundreds of times a day, under all circumstances. The mind of the Monguor appears to be fixed on religion in a most unusual way. Mothers, kissing and cuddling their babies, like to say happily, over and over, "Om Mani," "Om Mani," as if thanking Buddha (*Avalokita*) for the baby. The sick, suffering on the *k'ang*,[2] find relief in sighing Om Mani the whole day, hoping to be cured. When hailstorms threaten crops, Om Mani will be said hundreds of times by every terrified farm family, in the hope that Buddha will make the wind change the course of the clouds. When someone in the village dies, all the villagers gather at night in the courtyard of the deceased, where they sit for many hours saying the Om Mani for the deceased.

[1] The formula *Om Mani Padme H'um* has always been and still is an enigma. All attempts to explain it remain unsatisfactory. Each lama of a sect, each student of things Tibetan has proposed his own explanation. It appears to be of Hindu origin and not Tibetan. Some trace its appearance in Tibet back to the eighteenth, fourteenth, and thirteenth centuries; and even to the seventh century. See P. Pelliot, *T'oung Pao* 24: 395, 1924. The explanation of the formula seems to vindicate *mani padme* as a vocative of *Manipadma*, the proper name of a female deity.

[2] A small platform, two or three feet high, built with bricks, upon which the whole family sleeps, sits, talks, sews, etc. In the front of the platform there is a small oven, the smoke from which passes through brick channels under the platform before reaching the chimney so that the platform is always warm.

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

some iron taken from 4 city gates, some earth gathered on four city walls, earth collected on 5 different mountains, some earth taken in the prison of the city, 12 kinds of medicines; a small wooden white tiger, his rider painted black; 2 Buddha images, 2 mantles worn by statues in temples, bones of a dog, 2 skulls of a wolf and of a fox, a human skeleton, a pair of filthy trousers of a young woman, a living cat, a snake and a wooden raven. (Is it possible to imagine a more heterogeneous collection of items?)

On all these items are painted cabalistic designs, which are encircled with vermilion and painted with a brush dipped in the mixed blood of a white dog, cat, and cock.[1] All the items, in order to be effective, are to be stolen from other villages. Young folk are designated by the chief of the village to steal the required items, and if they do not succeed in the job, they have to buy the objects with their own money. If such thieves are accused at the court of the T'u-ssu, the community has to indemnify the defendant. At the times when these rites are performed, everybody in the country watches at night. All the stolen items are locked up in the temple and guarded at night by elder people, whose sleep is not so sound as that of young men. Deep secrecy is kept about the required items.

On the evening of the day fixed, the shamans arrive, clothed in the black gown; the chief of the shamans alone wears the flowery coat. All the shamans wear the black cap with long tail. After sunset the villagers arrive and the temple is closed tightly. A hog and a sheep are offered, while the attendants prostrate themselves, holding incense sticks, and the shamans dance and beat drums. In the deepest silence, they go to the place prepared for the rite, holding banners. All the heterogeneous items required are loaded into a cart. A hole fifteen feet in depth has been dug beforehand. Its upper part is shaped in a circle, the middle part is square, and the lowest part triangular.

The chief of the shamans descends into the pit alone. His whole body is enveloped in red cloth; he wears a cincture made of hemp, such as the people wear at funerals. Holding in his hands the whip and the ritual knife, he takes off his shoes and hose and puts on shoes made from hemp ropes. His pigtail is unplaited, and his hair disheveled. Some youngsters, their heads enveloped in a red cloth, descend with him into the pit. They communicate by signs and tokens, for it is forbidden to utter a single word inside the pit. The shamans beat the drums outside the pit.

In the center of the triangle one of the biggest jars is deposited, inside of which are put the corpse of the baby or boy, and the different sorts of earth. All items are covered with a piece of red cloth and the kettle is inverted over them. The chain is wrapped around the jar and fastened with the lock. The pair of trousers,

[1] Johann Frick, How blood is used in magic and medicine in Ch'inghai Province, *Anthropos* 46 (5-6): 954, 1951.

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

part of the investiture ceremony of the emperor.[12] During the funeral ceremonies for the emperor, the new emperor, facing the fire, made a libation and bowed thrice.[13] At the end of the year, in front of the hall (in open air), an offering of salt and sheep fat was made to the god of the fire by the shamans, and the emperor bowed twice before the fire.[14]

Butter was the original offering for the fire god among the Mongols and the Aryans.[15] Fire is worshipped among the Monguors in two ways: by fire in the open air, and fire on the hearth.

FIRE IN THE OPEN AIR

At marriages, a big fire is kindled in the courtyard where the marriage rites are performed and the dinner is served. The prostrations "to Heaven and to all the spirits" are made by the young couple in front of the fire. When the bride leaves the home of her parents a fire is built in the courtyard and speeches are made; the dinner is taken in front of the fire.[16]

During the celebration of the rite of the sixtieth birthday a big fire is built in the courtyard. First of all, at midnight on New Year's, a big fire is kindled in the courtyard and prostrations are given. The fire is not allowed to go out during the whole day, and this rite is performed before all the other rites.

In the temple yard of the village, the same rite is performed on New Year's in the same way. On the fifteenth of the first moon, a big cypress fire is kindled in the middle of the threshing floor, and small fires are built all around, over which men and women jump, singing, merrymaking, and making fun on stilts. During the whole performance of many rites enacted by lamas and shamans, very often a big cypress fire is kindled, as will be noted later.

MAGICAL POWER OF THE FIRE

Already the well-known Wei-sang has been noted, which seems to be an offering diffusing fragrance in honor of the spirits. It accompanies many rites. But fire is not only used to convey to the spirits the good feelings of the people, but often its magical power is expected to drive away evil spirits, even at the time of epidemics, epizootics, or when calamities intermittently harm the family.

When mourners return from funerals, they jump over a fire kindled at the entrance of the courtyard, so as not to be pursued and harmed by the souls of the deceased.

[12] *Ibid.*, 223, 239, 274.

[13] *Ibid.*, 279.

[14] *Ibid.*, 267-317.

[15] Poppe, *op. cit.* 142. Edward Washburn Hopkins, *op. cit.*, 106. Agni, the fire god in old Hinduism, is a mediator between god and man, carrying to Heaven the offerings (p. 445). The ram is the sacred beast of Agni, who is seen riding a ram (p. 449). At New Year's festival on the second day is the celebration of Agni.

[16] L. Schram, *Le Mariage chez les T'ou-jen du Kansu, op. cit.*, 42-71.

372 776 585 372 372 789 [764] [p.120(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

sion concerning this subject among the Monguors, who assume that they have three souls.

THE FIRST SOUL

The Monguors used to talk about the 'soul of the bones,[10] which seems to adhere to the bones in general, not to a definite bone. When the bones are broken or split, the soul seems not to be affected. Consequently, when Monguors kill a sheep, they do not take care to avoid the breaking of the bones. The soul seems never to leave the bones, even during life or after death; it is said to be buried with the bones in the grave, and to remain there adhering to them, and to vanish when the bones vanish. Never is it said that this soul harms people, or is harmed in anyway. However, when the shaman calls back the souls of a sick man supposed to be harmed by malignant spirits, or by souls of the deceased, the bone soul is called back with the two others.

This peculiar feeling existing over all Asia concerning the bones is noteworthy. The bones play a large role in the beliefs of the Mongol and Turkish people, to which stock the Monguors belong. The Monguors, as well as the Mongols and Turks, when asking for the name of a man's clan, ask for the name of his "bone," and their saying goes that the bones come from the father and the flesh from the mother. This basic principle is so deeply ingrained in their consciousness that when you ask a man or a woman what their bones are, they will always answer by giving the name of the clan of their father and not that of their mother. Everybody is recognized as belonging to the clan of his father. If you ask for the name of the bone of their mother, they will answer by giving the name of their mother's father's clan and not of their mother's mother's clan, for the bones come from the father. This behavior fits perfectly in the frame of a patriarchal society.

However, it is not known at what time specific facts caused the Monguors to go so far as to call their maternal uncle the "master of the bones" of the children of his sister, to acquiesce to his illogical usurpation of the most basic rights belonging to the family chief in a patriarchal society, to allow the maternal uncle to decide, in definite circumstances, about the life and death of these children, and to be their recognized avenger in case of suicide, caused by maltreatment, and to become the only man who can permit the burial of these children.[11] In all nomadic societies in Asia this intrusion is observed on a larger or smaller scale. Even in the Chinese society the maternal uncle plays an important role, presiding over the festivities at marriages and giving permission to bury the children of his sister. The Chinese saying is well known that, when the maternal uncle brings suit at court against the son of his sister, the father of the defendant cannot withstand it, and also the saying that as long as the mother's family (maternal uncle) does not permit burial, the de-

[10] Schröder, *op. cit.*, 2: 205.
[11] Schram, Part I: 91.

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

ceased cannot climb to heaven (the soul cannot leave the body).[12] Like the Monguors, they call a son *Ku-hsüeh*, "bone and blood," for his bones come from the father and blood from the mother. Relationship is called *Ku-jou*, "bones and flesh." The examination of the corpse by the maternal uncle before the funeral is called *Yen-ku*, "examining the bones."

However, the usurped rights of the maternal uncle concern only the children of his sister. He is not a chief of a clan, and in all clans men know very well that their clan chief is not a maternal uncle.

All the conditions set by the maternal uncle in order to permit burial find their explanation among Monguors and Chinese in the fear, which both harbor, of the harm which the deceased might cause in case he is not decently buried, and the desire to have a splendid burial for a member of their family, which will honor the family and flatter its pride. The Chinese are extravagantly demanding about precious clothes, a nice coffin, musicians, a big dinner, and a large number of Taoist priests. Monguors are also eager for grandeur, but, having no need for these items, put their unreasonable claims in the form of fantastically large alms for lama-series, three-fourths of which are never agreed upon. This mentality and these facts prove that religious feeling at that time plays a far lesser part in the discussions than the mania for display and worldly glory. Certainly there are devout Lamaists who, at the time of the death of a member of the family, really like to have prayers said for the deceased, spend a lot of money for entertaining lamas, giving alms, burning lamps. However, this is never done without ostentation and without advertising, and they make these claims on the day of the dinner in such a way that the whole gathering may spread the news.

THE SECOND SOUL

The concept of this soul is more confused than that of the first soul. The second soul is that which will join Buddha in his paradise, or will be condemned by the terrible judge after death to reincarnate, in order to repair injustices. The Monguors at present know perfectly well that after death this soul does not die, and that there is a reward or punishment meted out by the terrible judge. They know perfectly the eighteen hells, from having seen the pictures in the temples and having heard the lamas speak about them. It is one of the most important merits of Lamaism, that it has spread this doctrine to such an extent. The shamans, when performing the spring rites, tell about Erlik, as the lamas tell about the judge of death. The rite which is usually performed in reparation for injustices, so widely spread and practiced, supports the assumption that many

[12] This last saying of the Chinese has no meaning for the Monguors, because, immediately after death, the lama opens a way for the escape of the soul through the bregmatic fontanelle by pulling some hairs from the top of the head. The soul is thus already released before the maternal uncle arrives.

[p. 141 A]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

THE THIRD SOUL

The behavior of the Monguors toward this soul illustrates the basic approach prevailing all over Asia to the problem of the soul. The Monguors care more for this soul than for the other two because they are afraid of it. It becomes after death a kind of demon, ill-disposed toward its own family, harming its cattle and its wealth. This assumption is evidenced by their unkind attitude toward it, an attitude which shocks us. When the corpse is carried out of the courtyard, the lamas and the members of the family who are still in the courtyard, cry: "Do not come back and harm us, forget us forever and go to dwell elsewhere." The evening before the cremation, after all the guests have left, having said with devotion their Om Mani for a long time, the lamas immediately brutally chase the soul out of the courtyard and all the rooms. At the very moment of the cremation, the master of ceremonies makes the last traditional speech, before the oven, addressing the corpse: "We lavishly spent money and performed all the possible rites for your well-being, now go away and never come back to disturb us or to harm us.[23] Forget us forever; we will pray for you and make offerings!" The fear of the departed is a real obsession. Most of the harm suffered is ascribed to them. Many of the deceased are supposed to be peculiarly fiendish and are buried in special cemeteries, where the shamans have to be invited to keep them quiet. They like to live in lonely spots and empty ruined houses, and have to be fed, because when they become hungry they are dangerous.

However, all the distinctions concerning the three souls, based on observed facts and customs, do not bother the average Monguors. They do not care for the nature of these three souls, how long they live, when they will vanish—all they know is that they leave the body at death. However, they are accustomed to feed the souls of three generations. They do not care to which, among the three souls, offerings are made at the time of the spring rites performed by the shaman, or at the time of the cult of the family deity, or on their own graves a few days before the worshipping of the ancestor of the clan. Even the lama or shaman, calling back the soul of a sick man, calls all three of them back.

CEMETERIES

Since the submission of the Monguors to the Ming dynasty (in 1368), the chief of each of the groups, receiving the title and duty of T'u-ssu, became the ancestor-founder of his group. Their pictures then began to occupy the center of the new ancestral hall. The family register began with their name, and their grave became the head mound, which today is seen in all the old cemeteries where the yearly worship of the ancestors is held. T'u-ssu never have been cremated.[24]

[23] Van Oost, *Au pays des Ortos*, *op. cit.*, 130. Louis M. Kervyn, *Mœurs et coutumes Mongols*, 211, Genbloux, Duculot, 1947.

[24] Schram, Part I: 59-70. [p. 142(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

On the death of the first T'u-ssu his eldest son succeeded, and the others became the founders of Junior "houses." Some of them immediately built their own cemetery, and others later. When cemeteries had no more room, some branches of noble families again built new cemeteries, and so on. The richest among the commoners followed the example set by the nobles, and buried the remains of the bones, after cremation, in their own cemetery. Many ceased to practice cremation. The Chinese enrolled in the clans had always buried their dead in their cemeteries, and now many Monguors have their own cemeteries. The poor among them bury the bones remaining after cremation in a corner of their fields, or in a lonely spot. Three days before the official ancestor worship in April, each group honors its dead in its own cemetery, according to the usual rite, with prostrations, libations, offerings, and a sacrificial meal. It is on that day that the bones remaining after cremation of the persons of their family who died during the year are buried in their cemeteries, and the names of the deceased are entered in the family register.

What happened to the dead of the Monguors during the Yüan period (1280–1368) is not at present known. Some people say that the dead were buried in lonely places, that cemeteries did not exist, and no further offerings were made for the dead, after burial. Later, during the Ming, only two clans, the Ch'i and the Lu, built inside their mansion garden a big mound with a spacious room where the coffins of the later T'u-ssu are conserved.[25]

The whole clan of the Li T'u-ssu never bury their dead in the third and the eighth months; these months are said to be fateful for them on account of Lu Men-cheng. I never could get an explanation either of this fact or of Lu Men-cheng.

DIFFERENT MODES OF DISPOSING OF THE DEAD

The enrollment of Chinese in the clans, the examples set by the T'u-ssu and the chiefs of the houses, the impact of the Chinese culture from which the Monguors became less and less insulated, and also the fact that cremation bears a tinge of dishonor among the Chinese (because it is only used for those who have caused harm to the family) led many Monguors to resort early to the burying of the dead. According to many Monguors, cremation had been introduced by the lamas, because it was a lucrative rite for them. Since in nearly every family there were lamas, the rite easily spread. However, according to other Monguors, incineration provides more benefits for the souls, while burying bears a tinge of dishonor. I was told of a Monguor woman who had abandoned her husband in order to live with another man in Hung nai Valley, the man died and she

[25] However, as will be recorded in Part III, the Lu clan, according to its family chronicle, had an ancestral cemetery in Hsi Ta-t'ung during the Yüan period.

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

thereupon swallowed opium and also died. Because this case had involved the village and caused a lot of trouble, the chief of the village, with the maternal uncles, decided that they were unworthy to be cremated and buried them in the same pit. In Part I, other similar cases have been recorded.

The old Turco-Mongols buried their dead;[26] the old Hsiung-nu buried their dead also, as did the Hsien-pi.[27] The Ch'itan did not bury the corpses, but placed them in trees for three years, and then removed the bones and buried them.[28] This custom is widely distributed in northern Eurasia from the Tungus to the Lapps.

Monguors follow the Chinese custom in disposing of children who have died during the first month of age. They burn them and bury them in the k'ang, for it is said to be harmful to bring such corpses out of the room. Children of less than ten years of age are enveloped in straw and thrown in a lonely spot and disposed of by dogs and rapacious animals. Children who die under fifteen years of age are usually cremated without any ceremony, and their bones are not cared for. Young people under twenty years of age, dying in the morning, are cremated at evening; those who die at night are cermated in the early morning. Unmarried youngsters are cremated without any ceremony, and prayers are not said for them; their bones are collected after the cremation and buried in the abode of the wicked people. In the Ordos these dead are supposed to become vampires and to cause many deaths.[29]

In the case of married people dying without children, the maternal uncle is invited, a lama says some prayers, the harmful souls are driven out of the home, and cremation is without ceremony. Their bones are buried in the same terrible abode. However, in case both are aged, prayers are said for several days. After cremation the bones are collected and buried in the family cemetery, at the request of the maternal uncle. According to the Monguors, the aged dead are no longer abandoned in valleys, on account of the density of the population, and the custom of cutting the dead into pieces to feed the vultures has never been practised.

DEATH

When a Monguor is dying, the women of the family, from the roof of the house, call on his spirit not to abandon them, crying that they are preparing for it a delicious dish, apologizing for their shortcomings, and with tears and sighs giving assurance of their love, in a most pathetic way. If a child is dying, women on the roof cry and call his name, wave his best clothes and pretend that cookies and candies are waiting for him. This is an age-old custom practiced in China from the

[26] W. Radloff, *Aus Sibirien* 2: 120–126. Parker, *A thousand years of the Tartars*, 86.
[27] Grousset, *op. cit.*, 15–86, 104.
[28] Wittfogel and Feng, *op. cit.*, 204.
[29] Van Oost, *op. cit.*, 126.

earliest times.[30] If the sick man has a painful agony, 763
lamas are invited to pray for a fast departure or revival, according to the fate fixed for him; they beat drums and ring bells, around the sick man, making a terrible noise, and finally they help him to confide in Buddha. After the last breath has been drawn, they pull some hair out of the top of the head in order that his souls may escape through the bregmatic fontanelle. When death is approaching, his face and hands are washed, and he is shaved. Some Monguors undress him completely; others put his best clothes on him. It is said that in former times all the dying were undressed. In China it is a capital sin for a son to let his parents die without having dressed them in their best clothes. The Mongols, however, not only undress the dying person but bring him into the courtyard, for nobody is allowed to die in the home.[31]

Immediately after death, all the jewels are removed, 764
the hair unplaited, and some butter and tea leaves put into the mouth. Some Monguors add a "pill of immortality," bought in the Chinese pharmacies or in the lamaseries; some are fond of adding a precious stone or a piece of silver, as the Chinese used to do. The knees of the dead are drawn up under the chin, the hands placed on the chest and bound with a hemp rope, and a piece of white cloth is placed on the shoulders. Often the corpse is put into a sack of white cloth, and a gown and a scarf put upon it. Much has been written concerning the position of the dead, and many contradictory explanations offered by lamas, shamans, and laymen. A piece of yellow cloth is put on the shoulders of those who had become lay-monks or lay-nuns and burned with them. At that time most of the Monguors, old and young, who during their lifetime had not performed the rite to become a lay-monk, invite a lama who pours water on a mirror in which is reflected the face of the deceased, thus making him a lay monk.

The toilet is made by members of the deceased's own generation, except that sons care for their parents. During the laying out of the dead, the women start the lamentations on the roof, in the courtyard, or at the gate, so that the whole village knows of the death. A coffin is made by the carpenter, large enough to contain the corpse in a squatting position; it will be more or less elaborately decorated, according to the wealth of the family and the line of generation of the deceased. In the coffin is also placed a dough roll, according to the Chinese custom, for which contradictory Taoist explanations are given. A small coffin is prepared for the bones collected after the cremation. The corpse is put in the coffin as soon as it is ready, before which is placed a small table with twelve rolls and a lamp. Paper is burned, and at every meal a cup, with the same meal prepared for the family, is put before the deceased. Sons and relatives relieve each other day and night to keep watch, in order that rats and cats may not spoil the

[30] Couvreur, *Li-ki*, 1: 85–181, Ho-Kien-fu, 1927.
[31] Schröder, *op. cit.*, 635. Van Oost, *op. cit.*, 126.

[p. 143 (B)]

corpse, so say the Monguors. All the neighbors offer 764 their services in order to help carry on the funeral activities, for during the mourning period the members of the family are not allowed to leave their home or to enter the homes of other people, even temples and lamaseries. The whole family of the deceased is tabu.

A capable master of ceremonies is invited to direct the activities of the entire funeral. He starts by inviting lamas, usually of the Red Sect, to indicate the place propitious for the cremation. The incineration of a corpse in the wrong place might seal the fate of a whole family, for, according to the philosophy of the Monguors, the soil belongs to the god of the village, who has to be recognized, and from whom a piece of land must be bought in order to enact this rite peacefully. On a place chosen by the staff-spirit of the lama, the lama spreads a brand new felt, upon which he stretches a piece of red cotton eight feet long. Then, squatting on the felt, he offers incense and throws blessed spelt, reciting texts, ringing bells, and beating the drum. In the meantime, the attendants throw copper coins one after another on the felt. The spot is supposed to be bought, the bargain concluded, and paid for on the nail. The lama arises and announces ceremoniously that the god approves the transaction and will protect the family, averting from them any harm on account of the cremation. He fixes four arrows at the four corner of the spot to indicate its limits, and enjoins the attendants to start the building of an oven.

Lamas of the Yellow Sect, more ritualistic than those of the Red Sect, indulge in designing mandalas for which each of them advances his own peculiar explanation.

Monguors never build an oven without having recognized the god-owner of the spot, but many Monguors prefer to invite a Taoist priest or a Chinese geomancer to perform the rite, which is enacted in nearly the same way by them.[32]

Then the master of ceremonies determines, with a lama of the Red Sect, the day propitious for the cremation. He invites Red or Yellow lamas to come to say prayers, together with the Living Buddha who will perform the cremation and will arrive the evening before the ceremony. The rite is performed usually on the seventh day after the death, very rarely on the twenty-first or the forty-ninth day. The master of ceremonies, at the time he invites the lamas, offers a gift to the lamasery in order that the community of lamas will say the prayers intended to lead the soul straight to paradise, and to help it avoid all kinds of troubles and vampires on this journey.

According to old Monguors, the most important duty [604] of a master of ceremonies is to go himself to invite the maternal uncle in order to determine with him, in private, the amount of alms to be given to the lamas, and in order to know beforehand at what point he will lower

[32] Van Oost, *op. cit.*, 130; Kervyn, *op. cit.*, 212.

[p. 144(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

his fantastic claims on the day of the funeral. The discussion finished, the traditional cup of wine is poured. 764 [604]

The married daughters with their husbands, if they were not present at the death of the father, arrive as soon as possible with the traditional offering of seven big rolls, each one foot in diameter (which must be burned before the deceased), a sheep, paper and incense sticks, and two strings of copper cash. The offerings are not the same in all villages and poor people present smaller rolls and a hen.

GUESTS AND THE MATERNAL UNCLE

The day before the cremation, all the relatives and friends arrive with the traditional twelve steamed rolls and two-hundred copper coins; they prostrate themselves three times, burning paper and incense sticks before the coffin, called the "sedan chair." All await the arrival of the maternal uncle, who goes directly to prostrate himself and burn paper before the coffin, while the women start with the lamentations. The same rite is observed by the Chinese.[33] Some women have a real knack of touching the deepest feelings of those assembled. Many times I listened to these real masterpieces of elegies: "Father, why did you leave us? We love you so much. Father, Father, did we offend you? Forgive us, we love you so much. Mother cries day and night; she does not eat any more. She loves you so much. Father, come back, for mother's sake, lest she die. Father, who will care for us now, care for mother, and for baby brother, etc., we miss you so much. Who will sow the fields and tend the animals, we do not know all these things. Father, why did you leave us? How will we live any more, you were so good to us when we were sick, etc." All these apostrophes were mixed with tears and heavy sighing. Certainly the origin of the elegiac style is to be sought in similar circumstances. 764 604

In the presence of the whole assembly, the pretended discussion concerning the alms begins between the maternal uncle and the master of ceremonies. Assurance is given of the love of the family for the deceased, and of the care taken of him during his sickness. Finally permission is given for the cremation. Wine is poured, and the whole family kneels and thanks the maternal uncle. The master of ceremonies offers him, as keepsake and remembrance, a nice piece of woolen felt, some of the best clothes of the deceased, and some pieces of his jewelry. However, the maternal uncle must by custom refuse the gifts. The maternal uncle goes, followed by the whole assembly, to prostrate himself before the corpse. The dinner follows, in the open courtyard, after which the whole group prays Om Mani.

Every evening at dusk, beginning on the day of the death, the villagers, with their children, come to say 764

[33] Johannes Ternay, Familienjustiz in Trauerhaus, Ethnographische Beitrage aus der Ch'inghai Provinz, *Folklore Studies*, Catholic University of Peking, 1: 103 *sqq.*, 1952.

[p. 144(8)]

4; Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

Om Mani. The rite may last for two or three hours, during which time two servings of tea are drunk. After the rite is finished, noodles are offered to the assembly. It is really edifying to see the courtyard crowded with people, kneeling and squatting close together, and to hear them repeat in unison, slowly and with devotion, after the cavernous voice of the lama, innumerable monotone Om Manis. One feels at that time that the Monguors are a religious people.

The custom of gathering at night to pray for the deceased seems to have been practiced by nomads long before Lamaism was born. Parker, dealing with the funeral rites of the Hsien-pi as translated from the Chinese annals notes: "On the day of the funeral the relatives and the intimates assemble at night time and sit in a circle; two men pronounce an incantation so that the soul may pass unmolested by the Ghouls to the red mountains." This fact is noted as having existed before our era, two thousand years ago. It is interesting to encounter at the same time of night a similar religious rite for the same purpose among the Monguors, who were formerly nomads. It is said by them that they are very fond of the rite.[34]

CREMATION [35]

During the six days preceding the cremation, three lamas (rich people invite five or seven) pray for the dead in a private room. On the sixth day a minor Living Buddha arrives with a couple of lama assistants. At night, after the departure of the guests, the lamas drive out the souls of the dead in the usual way, and throw the nefarious *torma* on a crossroad; the neighbors cry and shoot rifles. In the very early morning, the lamas pray before the corpse, beating drums and ringing bells, so that the awakened neighbors soon arrive. Tea is drunk, lamentations are made, and the sedan chair is carried at a fast pace to the place of cremation. It is not permitted to rest on the way, or to put down the sedan chair, lest the spirit of that spot be injured. At the moment of departure, the lamas adjure the souls not to come back.

Only among a few groups of Monguors are women, the daughters of the deceased, allowed to follow the cortege lamenting, supported and steadied by other women. Arriving at the spot they are invited to go back home; they receive a piece of cloth, a pair of trousers, and a gown in order to return easily. On a spot indicated by a Red lama or a Taoist priest the neighbors have built, the day before, a rudimentary oven which has an opening on each of the four sides. The master of ceremonies for the last time adjures the dead not to come back or to harm the family. The corpse is put in a caldron in the oven. The wood of the sedan chair, broken into pieces, is put in the oven. A lama strikes fire with a flint and lights the oven. Twenty

[34] Parker, *op. cit.*, 86.
[35] Schröder, *op. cit.*, 42.

4: Schram M-S (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

pounds of butter boil in another caldron. The Living Buddha, in full attire with the mitre of the five Dyhana Buddhas on his head, squats on a felt in front of a table, with dishes containing spelt, rice, spices, and holy water. He recites the prayers, with a curtain between him and the oven, lest the sight of the burning corpse might desecrate his eyes. He orders a lama to throw the blessed spelt and spices on the burning corpse and puts some butter into a small ladle held by the lama, who pours it on the corpse.

When the rite is finished the group prostrates itself and cries to the smoking corpse for the last time, "Do not harm the family," and returns. All of them jump over a fire built before the courtyard, wash their hands, and rub them over a long knife used to cut straw. Noodles without meat are prepared for all of them, and they say five-hundred Om Manis. The lama receives his alms (always in an odd number) and returns to the monastery. The horse of the deceased father or the valuable headdress of the deceased mother will be brought to the monastery with a couple of pieces of best clothes to be sold by the lamas, and to have prayers said according to the value of the sale of the items.[88] The clothes carried by the horse are to be put on the saddle with the collar and arms on the left side; a horse is mounted on the right side.

In the meantime, the sons and sons-in-law have tended the oven and closed the four openings. After three days the members of the family and relatives open the oven, pick out the bones with chopsticks and put them into the small coffin prepared for this. The remaining fragments of bones and ashes are gathered up in the skirts of the gown and scattered on the mountain. It is said that sheep are very fond of such bones. The cremation must not be performed in cultivated areas, it has to be done in deep valleys or lonely spots. Every year after the shamanist springtime feast, this prohibition is expressly announced. The sons and sons-in-law bury the small coffin in their fields or near the oven, and make a small tumulus. While the sons are kneeling before the tumulus, the sons-in-law and married and unmarried daughters bring some earth a couple of times in the skirts of their gowns, and spread it on top of the tumulus. Paper is burned, a lamp made of dough is lit, libations and prostrations are made and lamentations are uttered. The coffin will be dug up again the following April, on the feast of the worship of the ancestors buried in the family cemetery, and the name of the deceased will be noted on the genealogical register (see Part I: 71). After the tumulus rite is performed

[88] A similar custom is encountered among the Mongols: Serruys, *op. cit.*, 137. The barbarians (i.e., the Mongols of Inner Mongolia around 1600) invited lamas to recite prayers for the dead for seven days. They gave to the lamas in remuneration the best horse, which the deceased loved most; his best clothes and his coat of armor, and all the oxen and horses which the family received from friends and relatives as mourning gifts. See also Van Oost, *op. cit.*, 126, and Kervyn, *op. cit.*, 112.

[p. 145 (B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

the great mourning period is over, and the whole group prostrates itself and thanks the master of ceremonies, who will receive twelve rolls.

The incineration ceremonies for poor people are obviously less elaborate. The maternal uncle is invited, a Red lama prays for one day, drives away the souls of the deceased, and receives five-hundred copper coins and some rolls. The people themselves perform the incineration, bury the small coffin, and build the tumulus.

MOURNING CUSTOMS

The Monguors today still call the mourning period the "black period." A son born after the death of his father is still called a "black son." The old custom of wearing black during the mourning period is still noticeable in the clothes worn by men and women, as will be noted.

It is interesting how the use of black as a mourning color has been so widespread in Central Asia among the nomads, even before our era, although in China white was the mourning color from the earliest times. During the Chou dynasty (1122–202 B.C.), while the family dressed in white mourning clothes, the inside of the coffin had to be upholstered with black silk.[37] In 626 B.C. black was already the mourning color for the barbarians living in north China.[38] The Scythians (Yüeh chih) in Samarkand, in A.D. 634, wore black clothes at the time of mourning.[39] In Tibet the head of the king was enveloped with a black turban in the coffin in order to preserve him against evil spirits.[40] The Liao officials (907–1125) blackened the bright parts of their hats for a few days in mourning for the deceased emperor.[41] The maternal uncle of Emperor K'ang hsi died in Wu-lan-pu-tung during the campaign against Galdan in 1695. His ashes were carried to Peking in a small coffin, put in a sedan chair upholstered with black satin, and in Peking the coffin was placed under a canopy of black satin.[42] Black is still the mourning color of the Mongols of the Ordos.[43]

The Monguors practice the great and small mourning. The great mourning consists of men wearing their coats inside out, not buttoned or fastened, girdling the waist with a hemp rope, and undoing their plaited hair and binding it on the neck with a small hemp rope. The women turn their skirts inside out and do not wear the traditional elaborate headdress. The members of the family of a lower generation than the deceased wear the mourning dress. The relatives, sons-in-law, their wives and children, members of a higher generation, do not

[37] Maspero, *op. cit.*, 184.
[38] Couvreur, *Tso Chuan* 1: 431. Zottoli, *Cursus Litteraturae Sinicae* 4: 39.
[39] Wieger, *op. cit.*, 1569.
[40] Hoffmann, *op. cit.*, 191.
[41] Wittfogel and Feng, *op. cit.*, 283.
[42] De Mailla, *Histoire de la Chine* 4: 147, Paris, Clousier, 1778.
[43] Van Oost, *op. cit.*, 130.

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

Several times a year youngsters go with the shaman to this place at night, and offer a goat to these dangerous souls, propitiating them in order that they may be peaceful. Often on a dark night youngsters with burning torches and whips go to these places. They throw down the head of a goat, and after making noises, throw away their torches and, in deep silence, run home swiftly along another way, in order to avoid being pursued by the souls, and to cheat them. This happens when a member of the family or an animal is taken ill and the possibility exists that the ailment is caused by such souls.

Black shamans, when board or lodging is refused them, blow their horn made from a human thigh bone in the direction of these places, calling up all these souls and spirits and ordering them to harm the village. The Monguors are scared to death of such vengeance, especially the vengeance of a young woman who has committed suicide. It is said that the souls of such women are not at peace until they have induced another woman to commit suicide. It is also said that souls of teenagers, for whom prayers have not been said, incite women to commit suicide.

If a suicide occurs, the chief of the village, on behalf of the whole village, invites the shaman, or often three of them, to prevent these additional calamities. For seven days the shamans go at night to the sinister cemetery and dwell there until the morning, beating drums and dancing. They call up these evil souls, talk with them the whole night, flatter, cajole, and comfort them, trying to pursuade them to change their avenging minds, and to exchange their ill dispositions for good ones. They snap their whips, and manipulate their knives to frighten them, and finally give them a goat every night, that they may have a good meal and a good time. When the meal is supposed to be finished, the shamans send the spirits back and return to the village.

This custom reveals a thoroughly shamanistic frame of mind, which fears the souls of the dead and imputes to the dead most of the mischiefs and misfortunes which overcome the family; only the shaman can master these foes of the Monguor society.

BURYING OF THE DEAD

More and more, the Monguors are adopting the custom of burying their deceased instead of cremating them. When the maternal uncle arrives, the deceased has already been put into a Chinese coffin. Before dying, the sick are washed, shaved, and dressed. Men wear an odd number of garments: three pairs of trousers, socks, three gowns, coats, even furs; women wear two sets, and always the traditional skirt of the Monguors which they never wore, but despised during their whole life, for it is said to be impossible to meet the ancestors without the traditional skirt. Some tea and butter are still put in the mouth (a souvenir of their nomadic origin) along with a "pill of longevity," silver,

[p. 147(B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

and jade. A pillow is placed under the head, which is covered with a sheet of white paper and a piece of black cloth. The black cloth is a souvenir of former times, because the Chinese use a piece of red cloth. 764

A Taoist priest fixes the day for the burial. The master of ceremonies invites the maternal uncle (with the same discussion as at the incineration ceremonies). [604] Finally, permission is granted for the burial, and the sons and grandsons of the deceased kneel before the maternal uncle, presenting the hammer and the wedges to fasten the cover of the coffin. The maternal uncle fastens one wedge, and allows the others to finish the job. Some among them still practice the Om Mani rite at night. The offering of the members of the family are still the Monguor offerings, as well as the lamentations. The next day the men follow the coffin on foot to the cemetery, and the women, crying and lamenting, sit on carts. On the third day there follows the ceremony of building the tumulus according to the Monguor custom.

It is not unusual that, at the request of the maternal uncle, some lamas are invited to say prayers at the same time with the Taoist priests. In that case, the lamas say their prayers in a private room next to that of the Taoist priests, since neither cares for the other.

CONFUCIANIST BURIAL OF MONGUORS

Some, among the rich and more educated Monguors, follow the Confucianist rite of putting the coffin in the courtyard with a red curtain hanging before it. The members of the family kneel before the coffin and a Chinese literatus, wearing a large red satin scarf on his shoulders, makes the sons kneel in the first row. While the musicians play a soft funeral tune, he reads the panegyric for the deceased whom he proposes as a model for the sons. He then places the panegyric before the coffin; next he goes to the row of daughters and then the row of grandchildren, and each time a new piece is read and deposited before the coffin. 795 766

The whole group then follows him in a silent procession to the kitchen, where each takes a cup of noodles and deposits it before the coffin, bowing and prostrating. He leads the whole group in procession behind the curtain. The literatus invites the deceased to take his meal. The whole group coughs one delicate cough, and disappears, tiptoeing into the room, in order not to disturb the deceased while dining. The literatus burns the panegyrics and retires.

The literatus, with some Taoist priests, goes to the nearest temple. Men follow him on foot while women sit on the carts and lament. He enters the temple with the priests only, reads a new panegyric, and makes the announcement of the death to the spirit and bows; then the group returns. It is amazing to see how these rude Monguors can behave with courtesy, like people "to the manner born," and how much they like the rite. Burial follows the next day. [p. 148(A)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

On account of the fact that the original family chronicles were lost during the troubles which beset the Ming dynasty, the most fantastic legends have come to be spread among the Li Monguors and even among their t'u-ssu, relating to the history of the clan ancestors preceding the Ming period (1368). Some of them circulating among the Li Wen clan have been noted in Monguors I: 26, 27. Concerning the Li Nan-ko branch we possess two recent documents of 1937 and 1941 which Chinese scholars obtained, one from the Li t'u-ssu himself, and one from a clan member.

The first document, *Studies on Frontier Areas of Kansu, Ch'ing-hai, and Tibet*, by Ma Ho-t'ien[65] records, on page 179, the personal visit of Ma Ho-t'ien to the residence of the Li t'u-ssu in the subprefecture of Ming Hua and his trip to the ancestral cemetery at Hsiang T'ang.[66]

> The Li t'u-ssu was so kind as to show the chronicle of his clan. The size of the chronicle is two feet square, the image of the ancestor is depicted on the first page. On the next page is elaborated his history, and so on for each of the ancestors. However, the only trustworthy part of the chronicle is that starting with the surrender of Li Nan-ko to the Ming and relating the succession of the t'u-ssu from 1371 until the present time. The entire text concerning the history of the ancestors preceding Li Nan-ko is unreliable. Then we left the t'u-ssu and went to the ancestral cemetery of the Li Nan-ko branch at Hsiang T'ang.

On page 180:

> The cemetery occupies a terrain as large as six acres, enclosed by a mud wall. The central alley, bordered by stone sheep and tigers in a sad state of decay, leads to a big stele, behind which is said to be the tomb of Li Nan-ko, and in front of which is built a stone table for the offerings to the dead. On the stele are engraved the text of the ratification by the Ch'ing emperor, of the appointment granted by the previous Ming emperor to the incumbent to the office of t'u-ssu, the text of a funeral oration granted by an emperor at the death of a t'u-ssu, also the glorious achievements of the clan and the names of the t'u-ssu who died on the field of battle. On both sides of the avenue are erected the steles of the t'u-ssu of the Li Nan-ko clan dating from the Ming and Ch'ing periods, the most recent dating from the Kuang-su period (1875–1909). Outside the enclosure, at the entrance of the cemetery, are erected two big steles, "the spirit way steles." On the one erected on the eighth moon of 1427 is chiseled: (this is) the spirit way stele of Sir Li (Nan-ko), who posthumously received the titles of Yung-lu ta-fu, Yu-chun tu-tu-fu, Pen-chun tu-tu. He is a descendant of Li K'o-yung, whose original name was T'o-pa, to whom was granted the name Li by the Tang emperor. During the Yuan dynasty, Li Shang-ko was functionary at the offices of the prince of Ch'i. To him succeeded consecutively Li Mei-chi-lu, Li Kuan-chi-lu and Li Nan-ko who was T'ung-chih (vice-chairman) of the district of Hsining. He received during the Hung-wu period of the Ming the hereditary duty of Tu-chih-huei-shih (High Commandant). To his son Yin was granted, on account of his merits, the title of Earl of Huei Ning.

[65] *Kan, Ch'ing-hai, Tsang pien-ch'ü K'ao-ch'a-chi*, Shanghai, Commercial Press, 1947.

[66] Hsiang T'ang is the name of the locality where the cemetery is situated, and means the Hall of Sacrifice, the room where the corpse is laid out.

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

and posthumously were bestowed (upon Li Nan-ko) the titles of his son: Yung-lu ta-fu, Yu-chun tu-tu-fu, Tso-chun tu-tu-fu. On the second spirit way stele erected on the third moon of 1475 is chiseled: (this is) the spirit way stele of Sir Li (Li Yin) to whom was granted the title "official who sincerely manifested military achievements" to whom were bestowed, in a special way, the titles of Yung-lu ta-fu, Chou-kuo Huei Ning-pei (Earl of Huei Ning, pillar of the empire).

The second document is encountered in Shuo-wen-yueh-k'an 3, 10, 1942 (Ch'ung-ch'ing Shuo-wen Yueh-k'an shih). There we meet with the article "Genealogical record of the tribe of the descendants of Li K'o-yung" by Wei Chu-hsien, who passed through the subprefecture of Ming Hua (San Ch'uan Valley) in October 1941. He visited Li Pao-ch'ing, a clan member of the old Li Nan-ko branch, who told him that during the Shun-chih period (1644–1661) a genealogical chronicle had been composed based on all available sources, by Yueh-Nai, secretary of the t'u-ssu for fifteen years, well read in the history of the clan, and that Yueh Nai was a contemporary of T'u-ssu Li T'ien-yu.[87]

I copied the present part of the chronicle composed by Yueh Nai. The original name of the Shat'o tribe of Li K'o-yung was Chu-yeh. The Tang emperor granted him the name Li and the title of Prince of Chin (895). He saved the Tang dynasty during the rebellion of Huang Ch'ao. Li Ssu-kung moved into Hsi Hsia, Li Chi-feng followed the Sung dynasty, offering the four districts of Yin, Hsia, Suei, Ning.[88] From the Sung until the Yuan, during generations, they lived in Hsi Hsia and were renowned for their military presentations. At the time of the Yuan, Li Shang-ko was T'ung-chih tu-tu-chih (Vice-Chairman of the protectorate office) in Hsining. Then the Li clan divided into six sub-clans, each having its t'u-ssu. The most important among them was the Li Nan-ko clan. During the Ming, Li Nan-ko surrendered with the officials of Huangchung. Then follow the names of the descendants of Li Nan-ko who fulfilled successively the duty of t'u-ssu during the Ming. Finally a genealogical scheme is elaborated, starting with Li Shang-ko, succeeded by his son Li Mei-chi-lu, his grandson Li Kuan-chi-lu, who had two sons Li Nan-ko and Ch'a han Timur. The son of Li Nan-ko was Li Yin, the son of Ch'a Han Timur was Kuan Yin-pao. The son of Li Yin was Li Ch'ang, the son of Kuan Yin-pao was Li Wen. Further the names of the successors of Li

[87] The shift of the Ming dynasty to that of the Manchu was preceded by a period of troubles. The rebels in Huangchung looted the country of its wealth. T'u-ssu Li T'ien-yu, still faithful to the Ming, tried to restore order in his territory. In 1644 his wife, concubine, two brothers, and three hundred of his subjects were killed. He himself was taken prisoner by rebels and sent to Sian to the Manchu court. He was accredited in his former duty of t'u-ssu and died as a faithful official of the Manchus (*Annals* of Hsining **28**: 2*b*. *Annals* of Kansu **42**: 47*b*).

[88] *Annals* of Kansu **46**: 3*b*, happened in 982.

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

himself. We know for sure that 1371 was the year of his submission to the Ming, and also the time of his death is historically fixed at 1488. It is hard to explain how this man has been clever enough to be an official during 117 years!

THE SPIRIT WAY STELES

In the first document it is noted that the first spirit way stele was erected in 1427 in honor of Li Nan-ko, the first t'u-ssu and founding ancestor of the clan. According to the *Annals* of Kansu (42: 46*b*), Li Nan-ko died in 1407, his son Li Yin received in 1427 the title of Earl of Huei Ning, and the title granted to the son was posthumously bestowed at the same time upon the father (*Annals* of Hsining 27: 10*a*. Annals of Kansu 42: 47). This distinction which, according to the Chinese mentality, primarily honored the father who had reared so glorious a son, obviously seems to have been the cause of the erection of the spirit way stele at the entrance of the clan cemetery in honor of Li Nan-ko in 1427 by Li Yin himself.

The second spirit way stele was erected in 1475 in honor of Li Yin. Li Yin probably died a few years after 1437. His son, Li Ch'ang, succeeded to his father only in 1457, on account of the discredit weighing upon the clan. Li Ch'ang died in 1493 (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 46; *Annals* of Hsining 27: 10). Emperor Hsien Tsung only in 1475 promoted Li Ch'ang, and he honored him in a special way at his death, sending splendid funeral gifts and a funeral oration (*Annals* of Hsining 27: 2*b*) written by himself, containing the glorification of the virtues of the deceased. This oration had to be burned before the coffin as a last farewell of the emperor to his faithful subject. The distinguished promotion received from the emperor in 1475 seems to have been the reason for the erection of the spirit way stele by Li Ch'ang to his father Li Yin in 1475, the father upon whom redounded the imperial attention bestowed upon his eminent son.

THE CEMETERY OF HSIANG T'ANG

The cemetery of Hsiang T'ang is definitely the most elaborate cemetery built in the country and it is said to have been erected to glorify the entire Li clan. I trusted this tradition accepted by prominent scholars and officials in the country, who founded their statement on an erroneous text of the *Annals* of Hsining (27: 2*a*) claiming that both Li clans were the descendants of Li Nan-ko (Monguors I: 70, 71). However, not a single stele is encountered in the cemetery pointing to members of the Li Wen clan, which has its own ancestral cemetery at the foot of the Han P'ing mountain, situated ten li north of the city of Hsining, with steles and inscriptions (*Annals* of Hsining 7: 8*a*). This cemetery is not as elaborate as the one of the Li Nan-ko branch with its spirit way steles, etc., but

[B 30 (B)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

its central avenue is also bordered with stone sheep and tigers in a sad state of decay (Monguors I: 71, note 57), and every year ceremonies are performed in it by the entire clan, in honor of the founding ancestor Li Wen, Earl of Kao Yang, and all the subsequent t'u-ssu of his clan. The Hsiang T'ang cemetery is definitely the cemetery of the Li Nan-ko clan.

In the Hsiang T'ang cemetery is seen a mound, said to be that of Li Nan-ko, who died in 1407. However, a striking puzzle is the fact that his son, the celebrated Li Yin, Earl of Huei Ning, who died soon after 1437, is buried not in Hsiang T'ang cemetery, but in the forlorn village of Hai Shi Wan, southeast of Nienpei, where a small stele with an inscription is erected, and next to his tomb is the tomb of his son Li Ch'ang, who received promotions in 1475 and the glorifying attention from the emperor at the time of his death in 1493. Still more puzzling is the fact that Li Kung, the eminent great-grandson of Li Nan-ko, the son of Li Ch'ang, who obtained the literary degree of Chin-shih in 1481 and was later promoted minister of the Shang Pao Sse, is buried in the village of Pa-chü-yuan situated southeast of Nienpei (*Annals* of Hsining 7: 17*a*; 27: 10–11; *Annals* of Kansu 42: 46*b*, 47*a*).

The fact that these three most eminent t'u-ssu of the clan were not buried in the ancestral cemetery where two spirit way steles were erected seems to suggest that the present elaborate cemetery might have been built in later times.

No notes are available relating to the ancestors of the other chiefs of the Monguor clans.

HISTORY OF HUANGCHUNG AND THE T'U-SSU DURING THE MING DYNASTY (1368–1644)

This chapter reveals on the one hand the tremendous role played by the Huangchung Monguors in the struggle waged by the Ming dynasty against the Mongols during the nearly three centuries of its existence, which several times shook the foundations of the empire. The help they rendered to the dynasty is unprecedented in history.

On the other hand, the chapter reveals the weakness of the Ming administration in Huangchung and the ordeal the loyal and dependent Monguors had to undergo to remain faithful to it amidst the wicked and ruthless depredations against their country, disastrous forays of brigands, hunger, disease, and poverty.

T'u-ssu Li Nan-ko, after his surrender with the officials of Hsining in a group in 1371 and his summons to court, was ordered to return to Hsining and to assume the administration of Huangchung. He controlled the country, calling on more tribes to surrender; repaired roads and bridges; organized the system of relays and the communications with the central administration; amassed grain in the public graneries, etc. The same year he defeated and took prisoner a rebel-

[P. 31(A)]

/The Monguors/

N *563 M 562 852 [553] first son is an occasion for great rejoicing. Various rituals are performed in connection with the name-giving, and the announcement of the birth to the grandparents on both sides. Everyone in the village is invited to a party, and relatives and friends bring gifts for the baby.

The birth of daughters and younger sons requires less elaborate celebration. Invitations are sent to the child's maternal M [203] [604] [603] [553] uncles to be present at the name-giving ceremony, which is performed by the grandfather. It is thought that a woman's brothers have a powerful influence over the family into which her child is born, and therefore they must be notified properly.

Poor families also celebrate the birth of the first son, although the ceremonies are less elaborate. If the family cannot M [184] afford the expense of a feast, rich people of the village often help them. It is not right to allow the birth of a first son to go uncelebrated, for he is the new link in the ancestral chain, and it is he who will grow up to make the sacrifices to the clan ancestor, an important concern to the Mongours.

N *563 j. Beard-growing

A man may start to grow a beard on the first day of the first M 302 [593] [888] or second moon of the new year after his thirtieth birthday, but only if his parents are dead. He must not grow a beard while his parents are alive, as it would remind his parents of their advanced age and approaching death.

k. Wedding, funeral and grave

N *563 M 764 [171] [177] The customs surrounding weddings, funerals and the construction of graves are almost the same among the Mongours as those practiced in traditional China. Their burial, however, is unique. Under the influence of Lama Buddhism, it has become the general custom of the Mongours to cremate their dead. The funeral rites are carried out by lamas. In the olden days, however, the T'u-ssu and the nobles were always buried.

N *563 M 843 562 4. Popular beliefs

Because of the importance of having a son, the pregnant woman is full of hopeful expectation. Everyone in the village knows about the coming event, and is interested in the sex of the child. It is believed that a male child lies on the left side of the womb, a female child on the right. The pregnant woman is watched carefully when she enters a doorway. If she steps over the threshold with her right foot, she is thought to be carrying a boy; if with her left foot, a girl. The logic behind this notion is that a boy makes the left side heavier than the right, so the mother will instinctively raise her right foot to make a step upward.

N *563 M 553 777 789 If several children in a family have died in infancy, the head of a family blessed with many children will be invited to name a newborn child, in the hope that some of his good luck may pass on the luckless family.